

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

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# INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN JAPAN

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## PREFACE

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The following study of conditions of industrial life and labour in Japan is the result of documentary researches undertaken by the International Labour Office in pursuance of the decision of its Governing Body to give effect to a Resolution of the Seventh (1925) Session of the International Labour Conference. This Resolution, which was moved by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Workers' Delegate of India, read as follows :

“ The Seventh Session of the International Labour Conference expresses the hope that the International Labour Office will continue to collect and publish available information regarding the conditions of labour in Asiatic countries and also requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, in consultation with the Governments concerned, to undertake, so far as is possible, a documentary enquiry into the conditions of labour in those countries, more especially in China, India, Japan, Persia and Siam and in the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in Asia. ” <sup>1</sup>

This volume on Japan is the first of a series of similar studies on Asiatic territories which the Office proposes to publish in order to carry out the intentions of the second part of the above Resolution. In execution of the first part of the Resolution the Office has continued, by articles in the *International Labour Review* and more particularly by notes in *Industrial and Labour Information*, to make available a large amount of information on the developments of industrial legislation and in conditions of labour in Asiatic countries. Thus it happens, in regard to Japan, that some part of the information on existing conditions and legislation contained in this volume has already been published by the Office in the regular discharge of its duty under

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<sup>1</sup> *International Labour Conference*, Seventh Session, Geneva, 1925, Vol. II, p. 837.

Article 396 of the Treaty of Versailles to collect and distribute information.

The utility of the present volume does not, however, lie in the bringing together in an ordered and organic form of the elements of information on industrial life and labour in Japan which are dispersed in other publications. Its main purpose is to present this information in the special setting of the social and economic history and structure of modern Japan. In preparing the volume the Office has been governed by the realisation that, to describe existing labour conditions in any country in such a manner as to facilitate useful and intelligent international comparisons, it must be recognised that "conditions of labour do not differ only in respect of hours worked or wages earned, and they cannot always be statistically represented. This is particularly true of the countries of Asia. In each of these countries conditions of labour have become what they are now as a result of age-long customs and traditions. In some cases changes have taken place, and are still taking place, with extraordinary rapidity, and if the significance of these changes is to be fully comprehensible, it is necessary to understand the influences which have led to the formation of these customs or traditions.... Only by attempting to describe and interpret the inter-relation of industrial conditions as they exist now in these countries with the social customs and traditions that have grown up through centuries will it be possible to give an adequate picture of living and working conditions in the countries of Asia<sup>1</sup>."

Such an institution as that of *Kazoku Seido* (family system) in Japan, for example, is of great importance in connection with unemployment, wages, trade unionism and the development of labour legislation. This study would be of but little value if it failed to make clear the significance both of this system and of the feudal conceptions, still deep-rooted in the Japanese mind, of loyalty on the one hand and paternalism on the other.

Again, it has appeared necessary to take into account those factors which bear directly upon the industrial situation of Japan : geographical conditions, climate, the size and relative density of the population and the rate of its increase or decrease, the extent of arable land area, the abundance or scarcity of resources in

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<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Director, First Part*, pp. 448, 449. International Labour Conference, Eighth Session, Geneva, 1926.

minerals, raw materials, food, etc., for these influence not only the degree and forms of industrial development but also the standards of labour legislation.

The present volume is divided into six Parts, Part I serving as an introduction and the others dealing respectively with "Industrial Relations", "Labour Legislation and Administration", "Conditions of Work", "Unemployment and Migration," and "Workers' Welfare, Education and Co-operation", followed by a short concluding note. Reference to the text is facilitated by a detailed Table of Contents and a list of statistical tables, and appended to the volume will be found a bibliography and a conspectus of Japanese labour legislation.

In conclusion, the International Labour Office would express its deep sense of gratitude to the competent Departments of the Japanese Government, and particularly to the Delegation of the Japanese Government to the Governing Body of the Office for the generous help they have given it both in the form of advice and suggestions in the preparation of this volume and of the supply of necessary documents.



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# PART I

## INTRODUCTORY

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#### *Geographical and Political*

The Empire of Japan consists of the four main islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyusku and Shikoku, the outer islands of Sakhalin and Formosa, the peninsula of Korea and several hundreds of small islands. The total land area is 252,085.3 square miles, of which 143,558.8 for Japan proper<sup>1</sup>. The coast line is very broken and of great length in proportion to the land area, the ratio being 1 mile of coast to every 9.5 square miles of area ; there are many ports and natural harbours. The islands are very mountainous, many of the mountains being volcanic, and the soil is mainly lava, volcanic ashes and sand ; barely 18 per cent. of the total area is under cultivation. Japan is well watered, though the rivers are not navigable. The climate is humid — the result of conditions produced by the ocean currents

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<sup>1</sup> The total area of the Japanese Empire is as follows :

	Sq. miles	Per cent. of area
<i>Japan proper</i>	143,558.8	56.96
Honshu (with outlying islands)	85,203.7	33.83
Shikoku ( " " " )	6,945.9	2.75
Kyushu ( " " " )	15,558.7	6.17
Hokkaido	32,846.8	13.03
Kuriles (31 islands)	1,104.3	0.43
Luchu (55 islands)	882.9	0.36
Others	1,016.5	0.40
<i>Sakhalin</i> (Karafuto)	13,353.2	5.29
<i>Korea</i> (Chosen)	81,673.1	32.39
<i>Formosa</i> (Taiwan, with Pescadores and other islands)	13,500.2	5.36
Total	252,085.3	100.00

surrounding the islands and by the forests, carefully maintained by the traditional policy of afforestation. Japan is still mainly an agricultural country, and industry is handicapped by the shortage of raw materials, only coal and copper being found in considerable quantities, with smaller quantities of gold, silver, iron and oil.

At the head of the Japanese State is the Emperor, who is called by his subjects *Tenshi* (son of heaven) or *Tennō* (heavenly king). Under the Constitution of 1889, the Emperor's person is "sacred and inviolable", sovereignty is vested in him, he exercises the legislative power with the consent of Parliament, appoints the Ministers who are responsible to him, declares war, makes peace and treaties, and has the supreme command of the army and navy. Parliament (the Diet) is composed of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives, the latter elected since 1925 by manhood suffrage. The Cabinet is formed of the Prime Minister and the eleven Ministers who are heads of the eleven Departments of State; it is not mentioned in the Constitution and has no collective responsibility, for Ministers are individually responsible to the Emperor alone. The Emperor is further advised by a Privy Council, and when very important decisions have to be taken he also consults the Elder Statesmen (the *genrō*)<sup>1</sup>.

For administrative purposes, the Japanese Empire is divided into two parts: (1) Japan proper<sup>2</sup>, consisting principally of the big islands of Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu and the archipelagos or chains of small islands of Chishima (Kuriles) and Riukiu (Luchu); and (2) dependent areas<sup>3</sup> including Karafuto (Sakhalin), Chōsen (Korea), Taiwan (Formosa with Pescadores and other adjacent islands), leased territory of Kantō (Kwantung) and the mandated islands in the Pacific.

Japan proper is subdivided into forty-seven autonomous administrative units under three different appellations: *Dō* for Hokkaido, *Fu* for the three big "urban prefectures" of Tokyo,

<sup>1</sup> At present, Prince Saionji is generally regarded as the only surviving *Genrō*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nai-chi*, meaning "inner land" literally, corresponds to the common English expression "Japan proper".

<sup>3</sup> There is no Japanese expression designating these areas as a whole. The late Marquis Komura suggested the use of the word *Gai-chi*, meaning "outer land", but it has not found wide acceptance. The department of the metropolitan Government supervising these areas is called *Taku-mu Shō*, which is translated in English "Department for Overseas Affairs", though *Taku-mu* strictly means the work of development of uncultivated lands.



Osaka and Kyoto, and Ken for the other forty-three "local prefectures". However, as there is but little difference in their respective organisation and powers, for practical purposes these forty-seven units may all be regarded indiscriminately as "prefectures". The prefectures are subdivided in their turn into cities, towns and rural districts. Each prefecture, city, town and village has its elected assembly, the powers of which, however, are mainly advisory and concerned with local finance; the cities are also empowered to own and manage municipal undertakings. The control of the local administration is very centralised; governors of prefectures are appointed by the Government, mayors of cities are selected by the Minister of the Interior from three candidates chosen by the city council, and strict supervision of all acts of local authorities is exercised by the central administration. The civil service is highly organised, and the total number of civil officials is well over 300,000.

Such is, in very brief outline, the geographical, political and administrative setting of the story of Japanese labour which is to be told in this report. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to giving a few essential facts about the Japanese people, their characteristics, numbers, composition and special problems, while the other chapters of this introductory part will give some account of the evolution of Japanese industry and the economic structure of modern Japan.

### *The People of Japan*

The population of Japan is homogeneous, having a common tradition and speaking a common language<sup>1</sup>. This is, of course, true only of Japan proper, but the sentiment of kinship with the peoples of the other parts of the Empire is said to be such as to exclude any racial feeling on the part of the Japanese. The social coherence of the Japanese is strengthened by the family system (*Kazoku Seido*), to which reference will frequently be made in this report; this system not only regulates the relations of persons bound by ties of blood, but also extends to many other social relationships, such as that of employer and employed, and creates a feeling of nation-wide kinship.

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting study of the racial characteristics of the Japanese and the traits of Japanese civilisation is found in J. T. SUNDERLAND: *Rising Japan*, New York, 1918. See also INAZO NITOBÉ: *Japan — Some Phases of her Problems and Development*, London, 1931.

The Japanese have the reputation of being patient and industrious ; that they are also very adaptable is shown by the rapid transformation of Japanese economy during the last sixty years. There has, however, been little scientific study of their industrial efficiency. They are said to be deficient in the sense of time, a survival of the feudal idea of unrestricted service as a duty of loyalty. On the other hand, increasing attention is being paid to industrial efficiency, and progress in this direction is facilitated by the system of education<sup>1</sup>.

*Productive population.* — The latest available detailed figures of Japanese population are those of the census of 1920 and of the interim census of 1925, but the general results of the 1930 census are known and will be used whenever possible<sup>2</sup>. According to the 1930 figures, the total population of Japan proper was 64,450,005, of whom 32,390,155 were men and 32,059,850 women. The increase in the total population and in density since 1879 is shown in table I.

TABLE I. — INCREASE IN NUMBER AND DENSITY OF POPULATION,  
1879-1930

Year	Population <sup>1</sup>	Density of population <sup>2</sup> (per sq. mile)
1879	35,768,547	249.1
1884	37,450,727	260.8
1889	40,072,020	279.1
1894	41,813,215	291.2
1899	44,270,495	308.3
1904	47,219,566	328.9
1909	50,254,471	350.0
1914	54,142,441	377.1
1919	57,233,906	398.6
1924	61,081,954	425.4
1930	64,450,005	448.9

<sup>1</sup> 46th, 48th and 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, pp. 20, 18 and 18 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Computed, with 143,558 square miles as the total land area of Japan proper.

<sup>1</sup> Ninety per cent. of the Japanese are literate. Elementary education is free and compulsory. There are thirty-five universities and colleges, State, municipal or private, and a large number of technical schools which are public or private.

<sup>2</sup> A full census is taken in Japan every ten years, but an interim census is taken half-way through each ten-year period. The first decennial national census was taken in 1920, the first interim census in 1925, and the second decennial census in 1930. Further, an investigation for the collection of labour statistics, which is in essence Japan's national labour census, is carried out every three years. The first such investigation was made in 1924, the second in 1927 and the third in 1930, coinciding with the second decennial census. (Cf. *Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa* in Japanese and for the text

It will be seen from this table that the population has practically doubled within half a century; some of the problems to which this rapid increase has given rise will be mentioned below<sup>1</sup>.

The proportion of the two sexes is almost equally balanced in the total population; the slight preponderance of males is more marked in the productive ages and less marked in the non-productive ages, the explanation being the normal one that more women than men live to over sixty-one years of age so that their longevity more than counterbalances the excess of male over female births. The term "productive ages" is used here to mean the ages between fifteen and sixty years. The following table shows these ages according to the interim census of 1925:

TABLE II. — PRODUCTIVE POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY AGE AND SEX, 1925<sup>1</sup>

	Actual numbers			Percentage of total
	Men	Women	Total	
Total population	30,013,109	29,723,713	59,736,822	100
Productive population	16,877,164	16,346,209	33,223,373	55.6 <sup>2</sup>
15-19	2,988,370	2,896,907	5,885,277	9.8
20-24	2,574,799	2,485,728	4,060,527	8.5
25-29	2,256,502	2,136,969	4,393,471	7.4
30-34	1,920,177	1,795,910	3,716,087	6.2
35-39	1,768,538	1,680,839	3,449,377	5.8
40-44	1,624,224	1,597,541	3,221,765	5.4
45-49	1,539,488	1,515,661	3,055,149	5.1
50-54	1,223,831	1,227,072	2,450,903	4.1
55-59	981,235	1,009,582	1,990,817	3.3
Non-productive population	13,135,945	13,377,504	26,513,449	44.4
Below 15	11,062,641	10,861,404	21,924,045	36.7
Over 60	2,073,304	2,516,100	4,589,404	7.7

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran*, 1930 edition, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This proportion of productive population in Japan (slightly over 55 per cent.) is lower than that of other industrial countries such as the United States (60 per cent. in 1920), England (63 per cent. in 1921), Germany (63 per cent. in 1919), France (62 per cent. in 1911), etc.

<sup>1</sup> A valuable study of the population problem has been made by Dr. I. TAKANO: *Honpō Jinkō no Genzai oyobi Shōrai* (Present and Future of Japanese Population). It seems probable that the population will continue to grow at the present rate for some time to come as recent figures show the death rate is being steadily reduced to less than 20 per thousand, and that there are fewer and fewer still-births, while the birth rate is well above 34 per thousand.

Obviously not all who appear in the "productive age" class are at work. The 1920 census distinguished between the 27,378,000 *Hongyo-Sha* (occupied persons) and the 28,585,000 *Jūzoku-Sha*, their "dependants". Only 49 per cent. of the total (55,963,000) were in occupations, 51 per cent. were dependants. Among those classed as occupied some were not dependent on any definite work for their livelihood<sup>1</sup> and when these were subtracted the remaining 26,626,000 definitely occupied persons were classified as follows:

<i>Gyoshu</i> <sup>2</sup> (masters) . . . . .	8,958,000 (33 per cent.)
<i>Shoku-in</i> <sup>3</sup> (staff) . . . . .	1,515,000 ( 6 per cent.)
<i>Rōmu-Sha</i> <sup>4</sup> (workers) . . . . .	16,153,000 (61 per cent.)

The 16,153,000 workers<sup>4</sup> with their 4,594,000 dependants make up, according to the report of the Statistical Bureau of the Japanese Cabinet, the whole working class of Japan, i.e. 37 per cent. of the total population of Japan proper.

In 1920 agriculture was the most important industry, accounting for 55.4 per cent. of the total working population. Industrial occupations were next in importance, employing 23 per cent., of which 6.8 per cent. were in the textile industry. In the various industrial occupations the proportion of workers (as compared with "masters" and "staff") was highest in mining: 88 per cent.; in manufacturing industries, agriculture, marine products industry and transport it exceeded 60 per cent.

*Urban concentration of the population.* — In Japan, as in Europe, the population tends to desert the country and concentrate in the towns; this renders still more serious the problem presented by the rapid increase of population in the country as a whole. Even if the population of districts of less than 10,000 inhabitants be considered as rural and only towns with over 10,000 inhabitants as urban, the rural population, which was 82.28 per cent. of the total in 1898, fell to 75 per cent. in 1908, in 1920 to 67.77 per cent., and again in 1925 to 65 per cent. It must be granted that all the urban population is not necessarily

<sup>1</sup> Described as *Mu-shokugyo-Sha*.

<sup>2</sup> Carrying on their own undertakings.

<sup>3</sup> Assistants of the employer.

<sup>4</sup> Employed workers who are not necessarily wage earners in the sense of receiving money wages. In agriculture, fishing and some other industries payment is often in kind.

<sup>5</sup> 8,239,000 of these are women.

industrial; neither is the rural population wholly agricultural, because as communications develop and the use of electric transport increases, an ever-growing number of people enter other industries than agriculture. Nevertheless, owing to the expansion of manufacturing industries tens of thousands of the country people are streaming into the towns every year, and the size and number of towns between 10,000 and 20,000 inhabitants is rising in consequence. There were only 153 such towns in Japan in 1898, but their number rose to 378 in 1919 and in 1925 to 392. The rapidity of the increase in the development of the smaller towns is demonstrated by the rise of the total number of towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants from 233 in 1918 to 609 in 1925. The six largest cities, which are also the leading industrial centres of the Empire, have each a population of over 500,000<sup>1</sup>.

In spite of the efforts made by the authorities to stop this exodus from the country, the farms are deserted by the more ambitious young men, exhausting the capacity of the urban centres to absorb them and creating grave unemployment problems. But so long as agriculture — which has been but little mechanised — involves heavy labour, the worker is bound to be attracted by the labour-saving devices of industry in addition to the far higher wage that can be earned for the same or less expenditure of physical energy<sup>2</sup>.

*Population and food.* — The problem of feeding Japan's growing population is one of the most serious that the country has to face. The principal food of the Japanese is rice, in the production of which  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million agricultural families<sup>3</sup> are engaged. The other main foodstuffs, such as barley, wheat, soya bean, sweet potato, potato, etc., are subsidiary to rice, on the increased production of which attention is primarily concentrated. By an immense amount of painstaking labour the soil has been

<sup>1</sup> According to the last census on 10 October 1930 the population of the six largest cities was as follows:

Osaka	2,453,600	Kobe	787,000
Tokyo	2,051,400	Kyoto	764,000
Nagoya	902,400	Yokohama	619,000

<sup>2</sup> "*Tamana gojiu ni Shikishima hitotsu*" (fifty cabbages for a box of cigarettes) is a common street saying; this is a terse description of the position of Japanese agriculture to-day.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 50th *Nihon Teitoku Tōkei Nenkan*, p. 71. In 1929 the exact figure was 5,575,583.

forced to yield an increasing amount of rice ; but it has been well said that rice cultivation in Japan is intense, as it is laborious, but not intensive, since it is carried out in a primitive way, and the future depends on the improvement of methods of cultivation<sup>1</sup>. There have already been improvements in cultivation and many official commissions have studied the question. Moreover, the Department of Agriculture and Forestry drafted in 1926 a thirty-year plan providing for scientific methods of cultivation, a rational system of fertilisation, State subventions, clearing of virgin soil, destruction of insect pests, etc. This plan was designed to foresee and meet the needs of a population which should be approximately 86,000,000 in thirty years if it continues to increase at the rate per year shown in the 1925 interim census. But even with improved cultivation and supplies of rice drawn from Korea and Formosa it was recognised that the problem of providing sufficient rice for food could barely be met at the end of thirty years.

It is this food situation which gives all its importance to the emigration problem. The Japanese do not desire to emigrate. As Dr. Nitobe has pointed out, their natural inclination "is to be a stay-at-home people", because of their reverence for ancestors and their reluctance to break up the family. If they move at all they prefer to remain within the boundaries of their own country<sup>2</sup>.

It is not therefore surprising that this reluctance to emigrate, combined with the obstacles to emigration, should have given rise to a birth-control movement. It is as yet on a small scale, but a beginning has been made in Tokyo and Osaka to teach methods of birth control to workers. Several clinics have been started in these cities within the past year or two, and, apart from certain measures of supervision, the Government does not

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<sup>1</sup> Studies of the population problem from the angle of food supply by foreign observers are: JOHN E. ORCHARD: "The Pressure of Population in Japan", in the *Geographical Review*, July 1928; G. C. ALLEN: "The Population Problem in Japan", in *Economica*, June 1926; and E. F. PENROSE: *Food Supply and Raw Materials of Japan*, Chicago University Press, 1930. Among the studies by Japanese are: I. F. AYUSAWA: "The Population Problem and Industrialisation in Japan", in the *International Labour Review*, Oct. 1927; S. NASU: *The Problem of Population and Food Supply in Japan*, paper prepared for the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927; H. YOKOTAKE, "Over-population — Japan's Basic Problem", in *Far Eastern Review*, October 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dr. I. NITOBÉ: "The Question of Food and Population in Japan", in *World Outlook*, April 1927, p. 29.

apparently suppress the movement so long as it is the hands of specialists. Although, however, a number of official and unofficial institutions have been set up to deal with this question from the point of view of eugenics<sup>1</sup>, it is still too early to judge of the ultimate effect of birth control on the population problem<sup>2</sup>.

The difficulties of a densely populated country having a limited land area and faced with the prospect of a shortage of food supply and insufficient outlets for emigration have led the Japanese to the conclusion that Japan must become more and more industrialised, and this idea has found popular expression in the phrase *Sangyo Rik-koku* (literally: "founding the nation upon industry"). *Sangyo Rik-koku* is not only a traditional policy of every Government, whatever party may be in power, but it has come to embody a national determination common to every thinking Japanese. To bring about a definite increase in the country's industrial capacity is the task which the Government and people of Japan have set before them.

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<sup>1</sup> The population question is being studied from the eugenic point of view by: (1) the Japan Eugenics Association (*Nihon Yūsei Undo Kyokai*) under the leadership of Mr. R. Ikeda; (2) the Health Bureau of the Department of the Interior; (3) the Bureau of Social Affairs at the Institute for the Study of the Physical Character of the Japanese, and several other institutions.

<sup>2</sup> The traditional attitude that a large family is a sign of uprightness in the parents still subsists (the proverb runs "an honest man has many children"), and this is unfavourable to the spread of a movement to popularise birth control.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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Consideration of social and labour problems in modern Japan must necessarily take account of the fact that while her present political and economic organisation is of recent origin and has developed largely under Western influence, the more important of her social institutions are steeped in tradition. Therefore, to understand the problems now confronting Japanese industry, it is essential to know something of the economic and social conditions of the country in the feudal period and how the modern system evolved out of these conditions. To describe these conditions and trace this evolution is the main purpose of this chapter.

#### *The Feudal Economy*

From the latter part of the twelfth century, when the Emperor delegated his governing powers to the *Shōgun*, until the Restoration of Meiji in 1868, the land was divided among feudal lords (*Daimyo*), who numbered some two hundred and sixty under the rule of the Tokugawas and who were pledged to maintain a hereditary fighting force (*Samurai*) in their respective fiefs. Below the *Samurai* came the plebian orders — peasants, artisans, merchants, between whom and the martial and lettered nobility the line was as sharply drawn as in the mediæval feudalism of the Western world<sup>1</sup>.

The basis of the feudal economy<sup>2</sup> was, of course, agriculture, and, as rice was then as now the principal food of the people, everything turned upon the maintenance of the cultivation of

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the feudal system, cf. K. HARA: *An Introduction to the History of Japan*, New York, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI: *Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*, London, 1930.



rice. The fiefs of the feudal lords were valued according to the normal yield of rice<sup>1</sup>, and this also determined the official rank of the holders of the fiefs. Moreover, rice took the place of money in the remuneration of the *Samurai* and the higher ranks of the lords' servitors<sup>2</sup>, and would sometimes serve as a medium of exchange, for money was held in contempt. The special importance attached to agriculture and its encouragement by the feudal lords led to the farmer being esteemed more highly than other plebeians. Artisans and craftsmen, those living by productive work, had the next place in the hierarchy, while traders and merchants — who were considered as thriving on the labours of others — enjoyed least consideration even when they were not actually despised. The term *chō-nin* ("town-man") by which merchants were described was used in a contemptuous sense.

The fine arts had developed in Japan long before the Shogunate, having begun to be widely practised soon after the introduction of Buddhism and under the vigorous influence of that religion. It was in the eighth century, the period of the greater part of the marvellous architecture of Nara, that the ancient arts and crafts of Japan reached their highest degree of perfection. Many of them had, however, been borrowed from the old civilisations of China and Korea; but later, when the policy of strict seclusion from the outside world was adopted and communication with foreign countries was severely forbidden, the imported arts and crafts were gradually absorbed into Japanese culture, and they continued to be perfected until their culminating point in the golden age of artistic work under the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1866), a period in which Japanese handicrafts enjoyed great prosperity.

Apart from the fine arts — sculpture, painting and ceramics — industries had developed and had made progress in spite of the social inferiority of the position of artisans in the feudal system. Painstaking individual craftsmanship produced fine samples of weaving, dyeing, embroideries, wood carving, metal engraving, copper goods, earthen and lacquer wares. Moreover, labour-saving devices were not entirely unknown in the pre-Restoration period; some feudal lords encouraged their use, especially in cotton spinning and weaving.

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<sup>1</sup> Measured by *koku* = 4.96 bushels

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HARA, *op. cit.*, pp 252-314.

The moral foundation upon which the feudal State rested was loyalty and this spirit animated not only the governing classes but also the governed. As *Bushido*, an unwritten code of high moral precepts, came to be the supreme moral law of the warrior class<sup>1</sup>, so among the people who worked with their hands there was a gradual growth of proletarian chivalry peculiar to their class; it was this spirit which inspired them, and, combined with certain ethical principles, was the directing force of their life and conduct. Such Japanese words as *Kikotsu*, *Otokodate* and *Gikyo-shin* are used to express this attitude of mind which has been described as a racial trait of the Japanese. No single foreign word expresses the exact meaning of the three Japanese words quoted above, but they convey the idea of heroism, manly endurance and sympathy for the weak with readiness to sacrifice self for the cause of social justice<sup>2</sup>. So long as the common people were actuated by this spirit, and *Bushido* dominated the nobility, social order rested on a solid basis. In the later days of the Shogunate, when feudalism itself was declining, the *Samurai* began to abuse their privileges, and it was the leaders among the plebeians (*Kyokaku*) who championed the oppressed, seeking in defiance of despotism to obtain justice for them in the true spirit of *Gikyo-shin*.

The daily life of the people was governed by two leading principles: *Giri* — the moral obligation to uphold the cause of justice — and *Ninjō* — humane sentiment. Neither the word "right" nor "duty" existed in the Japanese vocabulary before the idea of the value of the individual was introduced from the Western world, and the man of feudal times solved social problems in the light of *Giri* or *Ninjō*. These principles naturally influenced the relationship of the master craftsman (*Shi-Shō*) and his apprentices and workmen. The relationship was largely one of close comradeship and even of affection. The employer was addressed, as he still is even to-day, as *oya-bun* or *oya-kata*, a term suggesting that he stood in a paternal relation to his employee; then the apprentice was called *de-shi* (younger brother or son), a further indication of the bond between master and apprentice, the intimacy of their relations and the loyalty owed to the master craftsman.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. INAZO NITTOBE: *Bushido, The Soul of Japan*, New York, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> K. SATO and I. IYENAGA: *Japan and the Californian Problem*, pp. 9-32, New York, 1921.

The immediate cause of the downfall of the feudal State was the sudden appearance of Commodore Perry's "black ships" before Uraga in 1853, but for generations before this event the foundations of feudal society had been gradually undermined by the decay of the feudal economic system. Traces of a process of disintegration are discoverable even in the remote period when the transition of the early feudal agrarian economy to an economy founded on a currency system began to take place. Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries currency gradually came into use. It is on record that gold currency of a standard weight — to replace the gold dust formerly used — was minted by the merchants of the city of Sakai<sup>1</sup> for their vast trade with China and Korea; it was privately circulated, backed by the individual credit of wealthy traders. The practice was soon followed by the feudal lords, who minted their own currency, and gradually the trader class gained in power and importance. In their relations with the merchants the lords were obliged to replace extortion by bargaining, and the privileges of the guilds and commercial corporations increased while the prestige of the *Samurai*, and of the Shogunate itself, suffered when they had to approach the once despised *chō-nin* to obtain loans. Gradually the use of currency became general and a complete financial system was gradually built up; and with long-continued peace and prosperity the *Samurai* not only lost their warlike occupations but fell a prey to humble townsmen who possessed money<sup>2</sup>.

The decline of the power of the nobles and the *Samurai* was hastened by the policy of the Shogunate of enforcing alternating attendance (*Sankin Kōtai*) of the feudal lords at the court of the *Shōgun*, as a means of ensuring their fidelity. An official residence was provided for each of them at Yedo<sup>3</sup>, the seat of the Shogunate, and to carry out *Sankin Kōtai* they were compelled to move to and from their castles at stated intervals, accompanied by their vassals, the *Samurai*. The time that a *daimyo* might remain in his territory varied according to its distance from Yedo, but he was constrained to leave his wife and children always

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the greatest trading centre of the period and situated near the present city of Osaka, then an isolated hamlet on the seashore.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Honjo: *Nihon Shakai Shi* (History of Japanese Society), pp. 201-237. Tokyo, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> The former name of Tokyo.

at Yedo<sup>1</sup> as hostages. The frequency of these official visits and the luxury of the life at court imposed heavy financial burdens on the *daimyo* and especially on the warrior class, who were led to live beyond their means in spite of sumptuary laws prohibiting the use of silk and other costly fabrics. The result was heavy indebtedness with subsequent impoverishment and moral decadence, and the transfer of wealth to the merchants of the towns.

It was a Shogunate thus weakened, demoralised and on the verge of bankruptcy which had to meet the invasions of the Russians from the north and of other Europeans from the south. From 1793 to 1846 Russian, English and French vessels appeared in Japanese waters, harassing the coast population and insisting on trading with them<sup>2</sup>. To repel these "barbarians" who, according to the traditional policy of seclusion, could not be permitted to defile the "land of the gods"<sup>3</sup>, the Shogunate needed large sums of money, but the Government's financial position was so bad that funds could not be found except by repeated borrowing from the merchants.

The *coup de grâce* to the power of the *Shōgun* was really delivered in 1853 when Perry's squadron anchored in the port of Uraga, for although the Shogunate continued to exist for thirteen years thereafter its dignity and prestige had gone for ever. Reluctantly, to save the country from foreign invasion, the demands for the open door had to be accepted: ports were opened to and treaties concluded with foreign Powers. The bombardment of Kagoshima by the British in 1863 kindled a desire to organise the defences of the country on modern lines. In 1865 various treaties were ratified by the order of the Emperor. It was a new departure for him to take political action, for although the Mikado had always remained the religious head of the State, for seven centuries the dynasty had been in strict retirement in Kyoto, closely guarded<sup>4</sup>. Dissatisfaction with the division of power had gradually permeated the mind of the people, and they were ready

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. HARA, *op cit.*, pp. 300-302.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. MACHIDA: *Shakai Hendō Shikan* (History of Social Changes), pp. 20-29. Tokyo, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> Shintoism, the ancient indigenous cult of Japan, taught that Japan is inhabited by myriads of deities; hence the poetic name *Shin-Koku* or *Shin-Shū* or "land of the gods".

<sup>4</sup> The court guards were supplied by and owed allegiance to the Shogunate.

for a change<sup>1</sup>. There were struggles between those who upheld the *Shōgun's* power and those who desired the restoration of the temporal power of the Emperor, and at the end of this period of unrest the reformists<sup>2</sup> were wholly victorious, succeeding alike in the transfer of the reins of government from the *Shōgun* to the Emperor<sup>3</sup> and the abolition of feudalism. So it came about that within a generation the structure of the Shogunate collapsed. Modern Japan was built up on its ruins.

### *The Imperial Regime*

In a literal sense modern Japan came into being with the Restoration of the Imperial regime. A new and eventful epoch — both economic and political — began when the young Emperor removed the capital from Kyoto to Yedo, changing the latter name to Tokyo. Japan's development as a world Power took place in the Meiji era, 1868-1912.

Old feudal institutions were abolished one after another and Western methods were adopted, as being more efficient. The country wholly and permanently discarded the historic policy of seclusion and eagerly sought to acquire the technical knowledge already possessed by Europe and America. To this end one of the first acts of the Government was to send delegations abroad to study Western civilisation; the delegates were influential reformists, officials, promising students or men with technical knowledge of their craft. As a result of this study Western models were adopted for the organisation of the Government Departments, the courts of justice, the legal system and the fighting services, and in planning docks, shipyards, schools, factories and workshops. Under the new regime Japan was united by a strong national consciousness and by a common will to join in the progress of the rest of the world. The solemn oath<sup>4</sup> by which the young Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Yet only a small minority held strong views either for or against the policy of seclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Young men, mostly of humble origin, from the estates of the feudal lords of Chōshū and Satsuma were instrumental in bringing about the overthrow of the Shogunate and in establishing the Meiji Government. (Cf. I. IWASAKI: *The Working Forces in Japanese Politics*, pp. 16, 66-78. New York, 1921.)

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor Kōmei, who died in 1867, was succeeded by his son Mutsuhito (later called Emperor Meiji), who was only fifteen years of age when he came to the throne.

<sup>4</sup> "All Government affairs shall be decided by public discussion; both rulers and ruled shall unite for the advancement of the national interests; ways shall be open for all people to rise and never to harbour discontent;

bound himself when he took possession of the throne laid down the policy of modern Japan in harmony with the spirit of the whole people.

With a view to the development of industry, model factories and workshops were established by the State, and national industries were fostered. Cotton spinning, power-loom weaving, filatures, shipbuilding, the manufacture of glass, safety matches, coke, gas and bricks, coal-mining, type-casting and many other thriving industries of the Japan of to-day may be traced back to the initiative, guidance and encouragement of the Meiji Government. Legislation was passed dealing with the formation of guilds and the establishment of new factories; local authorities were charged with police and sanitary inspection duties in connection with factories<sup>1</sup>. Since, in the early days, domestic industries were predominant, provision was made for grants in aid; and the more costly machines, such as water-looms and dyeing appliances, were loaned in large numbers to promote local enterprise.

Roughly speaking the main industrial and commercial business of Japan was carried on by the State from the time of the Restoration to about 1883. The lack of experience of the Japanese people led the Government to start and continue to manage the large factories until such time as the ordinary citizen had acquired sufficient knowledge and ability in modern methods of business management to dispense with Government help. Railways, coal and other mines, shipbuilding yards, textile factories including silk, cotton, wool-spinning and weaving mills, paper mills and glass-works were mostly owned and managed directly by the Government. A beginning was made with the transfer of industrial undertakings to private ownership and management in 1884, but such transfers were exceptional and the beneficiaries continued to receive a State subvention while official supervision was only withdrawn by degrees. It was not until 1895 that the pace of the replacement of the State-owned factories by private enterprise began to be accelerated, and, having been carefully organised, it was very successful and industry soon made remarkable progress. The way had been prepared for the change some years before by

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all base customs of former times shall be abolished; knowledge shall be sought far and wide."

<sup>1</sup> National legislation for the supervision of factories and workshops was not enacted until 1911.

the enactment of the new Commercial Code (promulgated March 1890), the Banking Act (enforced July 1892) and the Stock Exchange Act (promulgated March 1892). Industries connected with war supplies had flourished during the Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895, although Japanese industry in general was depressed owing to financial difficulties, scarcity of labour and disorganisation of transport. After the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Shimonoseki<sup>1</sup> many new industries sprang up, and when the gold currency system was established in 1897, the post-war boom was at its height. The revision of the unequal treaties<sup>2</sup> took place at this time; Great Britain led the way in 1894 and other countries followed her example a year or so later. This boom was, as usual with post-war booms, followed by a slump in 1898 and a financial panic in 1901, but in a few years' time business prosperity was restored and industrial undertakings were working in normal conditions.

The subsequent development of Japanese industry will be treated in the next chapter. Japan was to receive one more shock before entering on the period leading to its present development. This event was the war with Russia in 1904. The financial situation became critical and, except for those concerned with the manufacture of or contract for war supplies, the industries of the country were severely affected. The textile industry was especially badly hit, but the victory of Japan was followed by a phenomenal expansion in industry, commerce, trade and the volume of capital.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms of this Treaty included the payment to Japan of a war indemnity of 200 million taels and the cession of Formosa and of the Liaotung peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> A relic of the feudal Government which had concluded them in 1858.

## CHAPTER III

### RISE OF INDUSTRIALISM

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#### *Development of Industrial Employment*

The first recorded large-scale factory in Japan was a cotton-spinning works, with 5,000 spindles, set up by the feudal lord of Satsuma in 1862, six years before the end of the feudal period. It was not long before the success of this experiment aroused the interest of other enterprising people, and similar mills were established in various parts of the country, in and around Osaka in particular. Factories for silk-reeling came a little later. One was opened in the spring of 1870 by the feudal chief of Mayebashi; another, started in the autumn of the same year by Nabeshima, the old feudal lord of Saga, employed a hundred workers, and a Swiss engineer was engaged to train the women operatives. In January 1871, Mr. Ichibei Furukawa started his reeling factory in Tsukiji, Tokyo. Within a year the French system of filature, on French machines, was tried by a French engineer at Tomioka in the prefecture of Gumma, and it is recorded that about that time the Italian system of filature was installed by Zensuke Ono, a rich Tokyo merchant. These pioneer efforts served to introduce the new methods, and factories with Western machines sprang up in Fukushima, Shinano and other prefectures<sup>1</sup>.

The political transformation was undoubtedly favourable to the spread of the factory system. When the Imperial Government abolished the feudal clans and set up the prefectures, hereditary pension bonds were granted to the former vassals and retainers of the feudal lords. The result was a sudden increase in capital available for investment in industry, and the possession of this

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<sup>1</sup> LOCAL EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE BOARD OF TOKYO : *Kannai Seishi Jokō-Chōsa* (Enquiry into the Working Conditions of Female Operatives), pp. 3-4.



capital proved an irresistible temptation to engage in enterprises aiming at large-scale production in the place of the more laborious and less remunerative hand processes. Speculation was inevitable during this experimental stage, and many *Samurai*, ignorant of finance and untrained in business, failed in competition with the townsmen, who had long experience of trade and commerce. But the more far-sighted feudal lords and the Government itself did much to lessen the difficulties of the period of transition. Help was not confined to the cotton-spinning and silk-reeling industries. The first hemp-spinning factory of modern type was started with State aid in 1886, in the province of Ōmi; and this experiment having shown that the industry was profitable, similar factories were soon established in Hokkaido, Osaka and elsewhere.

The steady industrial development of Japan after the Restoration is shown by statistics of new factories and workshops opened year by year and the number of workers employed. There has been some fluctuation, since some workshops have failed shortly after establishment or have carried on with less than five workers<sup>1</sup>. The net increase in the number of factories during the first thirty years after 1868 was roughly from 100 to 300 in a year. The numbers then rose steadily, and in 1907 the number of factories established during the year exceeded a thousand; in 1917 it was over two thousand and then the figures continued to rise until 1927, save for a temporary drop in 1925. In 1919 and 1920 the boom which was expected after the Great War accounts for the steep rise in the numbers of factories started; 1921 again shows the normal yearly increase over the 1918 figures. It is interesting to note that there were 2,362 factories or workshops in existence before 1868 which in 1927 were still working. The total number of factories at work in 1929 was 59,887.

The new Japanese industries which have created the largest demand for labour are those of an essentially foreign character or using purely Western methods. Railways, cotton spinning, paper, cement or glass manufacturing, sugar refining, ship-building, gas and electricity fall into this class; to some extent

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<sup>1</sup> Up to 1921 only factories employing five or more workers are included in the figures given, and State-owned factories were excluded. From 1921 workplaces employing less than five workers are included provided they used prime movers or were engaged in dangerous or unhealthy processes. Cf. *Kōjō Tōkei Hyō* or Factory Statistics for 1930, pp. 2-3.

also mining. It is also these industries which have provided the main stimulus for the development of banking and insurance. Next in importance come the indigenous industries which have been reorganised to meet the demand of foreign markets on a scale unknown before 1868. For the production of raw silk and of miscellaneous goods the former domestic methods have had to yield to the factory system; and as a consequence of this change a considerable demand for industrial labour has arisen. Lastly, the factory production of goods formerly made at home<sup>1</sup> is on the increase and gradually swelling the numbers of factory workers.

Statistics of factories and of the number of workers they employ show how rapidly the demand for industrial labour has increased. For forty years there was almost unchecked expansion<sup>2</sup>; during the last four or five years the rate seems to have slackened, but this may be accounted for by the general trade depression. Apart from the steady growth of the demand for industrial labour in Japan, table III (see page 21) shows the preponderance of female labour; this is due to the fact that textile mills predominate among Japanese factories and that in the textile industries women and girls form some 80 per cent. of the total number of workers employed. In studying the table it should be kept in mind that the Factory Act in its amended form applies principally to factories employing ten or more workers<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless, the factory population of Japan is greater than is shown by table III, for workshops employing between five and nine operatives (other than members of the family) must also be included. It was only in 1909 that reliable statistics of such workshops or factories first became available. If they are

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<sup>1</sup> Japanese socks (*tabi*) for instance, formerly a housewife's occupation, are now manufactured on a large scale on the factory system.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the financial and industrial crises in Japan in 1890, 1897, 1900, 1908, 1914, 1920, 1923 and 1927. Cf. TOKUZO-FUKUDA: "La cyclité de la vie économique et de la politique économique éclairée par l'exemple de l'évolution japonaise de 1868 à 1925 dans ses rapports avec l'étranger", in *Journal des Economistes*, Paris, April 1926, and W. L. THORP in *Business Annals*, New York, 1926, pp. 241-350.

<sup>3</sup> The amended Factory Act of 1923, which is now in force, applies to factories (1) where ten or more operatives are regularly employed or (2) where the work is of a dangerous nature or injurious to health regardless of the number of operatives employed. In 1930, on 1 October, the number of factories employing less than ten operatives but where the work is dangerous or unhealthy and covered by the Factory Act was 29,686, and the number of operatives engaged was 95,761, including 10,304 men and 46,336 women workers. Cf. *Rodo Jiho*, Dec. 1931, p. 6.)

TABLE III. — NUMBERS OF FACTORIES EMPLOYING AT LEAST TEN OPERATIVES AND OF WORKPEOPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SEX 1889-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Factories	Workers		
		Total	Male	Female
1889	767	—	—	—
1894	5,985	—	—	—
1899	6,699	423,171	158,793	264,378
1904	9,234	526,215	207,951	318,264
1909	15,426	692,221	240,864	451,357
1914	17,062	853,964	318,667	535,297
1915	16,809	910,799	350,976	559,823
1916	19,299	1,095,301	458,632	636,669
1917	20,965	1,278,644	566,642	712,002
1918	22,391	1,409,196	646,115	763,081
1919	23,831	1,474,598	650,678	823,920
1920	15,395	1,303,804	570,435	733,369
1921	25,365	1,472,575	647,809	824,766
1922	23,273	1,535,998	725,348	809,650
1923	24,427	1,600,170	731,019	879,151
1924	24,979	1,635,710	750,849	884,861
1925	25,235	1,651,194	740,154	911,040
1926	25,432	1,700,573	770,308	930,265
1927	27,787	1,606,882	692,453	914,929
1928	28,798	1,648,836	725,864	922,972
1929	30,566	1,851,990	861,175	990,815
1930	30,843	1,687,372	806,921	880,451

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran* (Summary of Labour Statistics), 1929 edition, supplemented with *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō* (Annual Report of Factory Inspection), 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1930 editions, quoted in *Rōdō Jihō* (Labour Gazette), Feb. 1929, Dec. 1929 and Dec. 1931. Factories employing less than ten workers have been excluded, even if they are covered by the Factory Act for the reason that they are engaged in dangerous or unhygienic works.

included in the totals, the number of factories in 1909 becomes 32,000, while by 1930 it had reached close on 60,000. When the workers employed by them are included in the totals, it is seen that the expansion of the factory population in the twenty years 1909-1928 was from 800,000 to 2,000,000<sup>1</sup>.

Table IV (see page 22) shows the place in Japanese industry of small factories employing only five to nine workers. In 1929 they numbered over 33,000, or more than half — actually 55 per cent. — of all Japanese factories. It is true that the workers employed in them represented in 1928 only 10 per cent. of the total number of factory workers (see table V, page 23); but their role in Japanese economy is an important one, and the question of their protection a matter of concern to the Government.

<sup>1</sup> The total factory population on 30 June 1931 was 2,032,353.

TABLE IV. — NUMBER OF FACTORIES EMPLOYING AT LEAST FIVE OPERATIVES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE 1909-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Total number of factories	Factories with 5-9 operatives	Factories with 10-29 operatives	Factories with 30-49 operatives	Factories with 50-99 operatives	Factories with 100-499 operatives	Factories with 500-999 operatives	Factories with 1,000 or more operatives
1909	32,228	16,802	10,812	2,034	1,460	980	82	58
1914	31,717	14,655	11,533	2,342	1,803	1,155	124	85
1919	43,949	20,118	15,638	3,466	2,474	1,881	202	160
1924	48,391	23,415	16,406	3,540	2,585	1,953	268	227
1925	49,161	23,926	16,699	3,516	2,529	1,974	284	233
1926	51,906	26,474	16,570	3,675	2,612	2,045	282	248
1927	53,680	27,836	16,696	3,767	2,638	2,205	310	228
1928	55,948	29,116	17,163	3,999	2,850	2,283	314	223
1929	59,887	33,187	17,287	3,917	2,831	2,170	295	200
Percentage								
1909	100.0	52.1	33.6	6.3	4.5	3.0	0.3	0.2
1914	100.0	46.2	36.4	7.4	5.7	3.6	0.4	0.3
1919	100.0	45.8	35.6	7.9	5.6	4.3	0.4	0.4
1924	100.0	48.4	33.9	7.3	5.3	4.0	0.6	0.5
1925	100.0	48.7	33.9	7.2	5.1	4.0	0.6	0.5
1926	100.0	51.0	31.9	7.1	5.0	3.9	0.6	0.5
1927	100.0	51.6	31.1	7.0	4.9	4.1	0.5	0.4
1928	100.0	52.0	31.0	7.0	5.0	4.0	0.6	0.4
1929	100.0	55.4	28.9	6.6	4.7	3.6	0.5	0.3

<sup>1</sup> Nihon Taikoku Tōkei Nenkan, numbers issued in 1914-1931. The percentage figures have been computed on the basis of actual figures.

TABLE V. — NUMBER OF OPERATIVES EMPLOYED IN FACTORIES ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THE FACTORIES, 1909-1928<sup>1</sup>

Year	Total number of workers	In factories with 5-9 operatives	In factories with 10-29 operatives	In factories with 30-49 operatives	In factories with 50-99 operatives	In factories with 100-499 operatives	In factories with 500-999 operatives	In factories with 1,000 or more operatives
1909	800,637	108,416	246,369	97,957	180,799	55,817	111,279	
1914	948,265	94,301	272,320	120,588	217,204	82,778	160,782	
1919	1,611,990	137,392	399,739	178,524	379,569	149,337	367,429	
1924	1,789,618	153,908	263,492	132,296	173,962	182,237	492,672	
1925	1,808,381	157,187	265,916	132,622	172,299	193,972	490,540	
1926	1,875,195	174,622	268,227	138,316	184,423	192,167	512,171	
1927	1,898,872	185,925	272,284	140,692	180,071	218,767	462,278	
1928	1,936,249	194,560	278,432	150,261	195,503	214,526	455,284	

Percentage								
1909	100.0	13.5	30.8	12.2	22.6	7.0	13.9	
1914	100.0	9.9	28.8	12.7	22.9	8.7	17.0	
1919	100.0	8.5	24.8	11.1	23.5	9.3	22.8	
1924	100.0	8.6	14.7	7.4	21.9	10.2	27.5	
1925	100.0	8.7	14.7	7.4	21.9	10.7	27.1	
1926	100.0	9.3	14.3	7.4	21.6	10.3	27.3	
1927	100.0	8.1	14.3	7.4	23.1	11.5	24.4	
1928	100.0	10.0	14.4	7.8	23.1	11.1	23.5	

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Yōran, 1931 edition, pp. 20-21

Though the growth of larger factories employing a hundred or more operatives has been retarded in the past few years, they tended to grow more rapidly both in number and proportion<sup>1</sup>; from 1,120 in 1909 they increased to 2,820 in 1928<sup>2</sup>, representing an increase from 3.5 per cent. to 5 per cent. of the total number of factories.

Another indication of the development of Japanese industry is the increase in the number of mine-workers. It has been shown that in fifteen years (1899 to 1914) the total number of workers employed in Japanese mines more than doubled, i.e. from 119,000 to 294,000; and over the period of twenty years, 1899 to 1919, the number of mine-workers quadrupled, being 465,000 in the latter year. The high figure for 1919 was, however, due to the exceptional economic conditions of the war years, and from 1919 to 1931 the numbers employed steadily declined to 201,900

TABLE VI. — NUMBER OF FACTORIES UTILISING PRIME MOVERS AND OF FACTORY OPERATIVES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SEX, 1900-1929<sup>1</sup>

Date	Number of factories			Number of operatives			
	Factories using prime movers	Total number of factories	Percentage of factories using prime movers	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of female operatives
1900	2,388	7,284	32.78	164,712	257,307	422,019	60.97
1904	4,000	9,234	43.31	207,951	318,264	526,215	60.48
1909	9,155	32,390	28.26	307,139	493,498	800,637	61.63
1914	14,378	31,859	45.75	383,957	564,308	948,265	59.52
1919	26,947	41,087	61.12	741,193	870,797	1,611,990	54.02
1920	30,128	46,150	65.28	730,419	824,308	1,554,727	53.08
1921	71,624	87,772	81.60	757,345	878,466	1,635,811	53.09
1922	33,660	46,427	72.50	834,314	856,705	1,691,019	50.66
1923	35,360	47,786	73.99	838,197	926,936	1,765,133	52.51
1924	37,141	48,394	76.93	850,783	949,835	1,799,618	51.95
1925	38,221	49,161	77.95	852,554	956,827	1,809,381	52.80
1926	41,514	51,906	79.97	893,834	981,961	1,875,795	52.31
1927	43,726	53,680	81.45	923,201	975,671	1,898,872	51.98
1928	46,247	55,948	82.06	948,876	987,373	1,936,249	51.51
1929	48,822	59,887	81.52	855,187	969,835	1,825,022	60.87

<sup>1</sup> Figures for 1900-1904 are those of factories employing at least ten operatives. Figures after 1909 are for factories employing five or more operatives. Only the figures for 1921 included exceptionally all factories using prime movers even when the number of operatives employed therein is less than five, hence the sudden increase in the numbers. The total numbers of factories for 1909, 1914 and 1919 given here do not agree with those given in table IV, these two different sets of figures occurring always in *Kōjō Tōkei Hyō*. The reason for the discrepancy is unexplained. The above table has been computed from the figures on pp. 8 and 74 of *Kōjō Tōkei Hyō* (for 1926-1927) and *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, 1931 edition, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in these larger-scale factories, though they represent only about 4 per cent. of the total of Japanese factories, the labour employed is roughly 50 per cent. of factory workers.

<sup>2</sup> This fell to 2,665 in 1929.

in 1931, which is near the 1899 figure<sup>1</sup>. The coal mines employ by far the greater part of this labour, and although there is now a marked tendency to use hydraulic power, the number of miners employed remained above the pre-war figure (187,000 in 1914, 238,000 in 1928) until 1931, when, owing to the crisis, it fell to pre-war level.

Table VI (see page 24) shows the growth in the number of

TABLE VII. — VALUE OF FACTORY PRODUCTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY, 1909-1929<sup>1</sup>

(In 1,000 Yen)

Year	Textile	Metal	Machine and tool	Ceramic	Chemical	Woodwork
1909	388,008	17,070	40,974	24,728	86,414	19,931
1914	620,260	47,964	110,906	34,309	175,848	27,943
1919	3,295,900	338,248	716,241	175,435	776,942	157,953
1920	2,404,813	321,235	888,019	186,074	715,975	163,591
1921	2,336,906	250,099	568,322	148,621	508,788	19,821
1922	2,181,227	253,258	545,447	167,017	572,135	158,586
1923	2,586,778	317,490	392,065	181,021	673,255	195,019
1924	2,925,284	378,563	447,490	180,789	729,221	180,839
1925	3,215,299	421,350	458,569	18,324	757,352	175,230
1926	2,872,116	417,058	533,917	210,747	813,403	185,343
1927	2,676,689	467,123	582,960	192,012	848,390	187,259
1928	2,848,383	544,802	629,926	203,162	935,617	193,549
1929	2,997,825	689,505	682,162	219,801	1,077,608	194,389
Percentage in 1929	38.8 %	8.9 %	8.8 %	2.8 %	13.9 %	2.5 %
Year	Printing	Foodstuff	Gas and electrical	Repairs of boats, machines, tools; bleaching; dyeing, etc.	Miscellaneous	Total
1909	15,698	147,239	—	8,265	32,136	780,517
1914	26,448	219,939	25,251	35,863	46,872	1,371,808
1919	66,248	740,673	66,649	201,463	201,876	6,737,632
1920	95,087	787,086	61,433	168,435	186,013	6,037,765
1921	101,722	872,627	45,374	271,770	201,457	5,498,515
1922	99,541	889,487	43,997	259,809	175,811	5,643,321
1923	109,446	958,315	97,766	235,593	231,661	5,978,445
1924	146,658	1,082,247	106,620	237,334	209,509	6,624,560
1925	163,733	1,097,104	108,214	247,233	204,246	7,029,658
1926	158,051	1,249,238	150,016	304,001	225,902	7,154,797
1927	192,706	1,123,561	149,278	303,922	224,045	6,947,948
1928	184,035	1,136,544	172,910	277,318	251,708	7,377,654
1929	182,954	1,124,201	50,003	301,583	246,740	7,716,774
Percentage in 1929	2.3 %	14.5 %	0.6 %	3.9 %	3.0 %	100.0 %

<sup>1</sup> The table shows (in 1,000 yen) the increase of the products of Japanese factories (where at least five operatives are engaged normally). From this table not only can the increase of total output of Japanese industry be traced but the relative importance of various industries can be compared (Cf. *Kōjō Tōkei Hyō* for 1926-1930.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran*, 1931 edition, pp. 50-51, and *Rōdō Jihō*, Supplement Sept. 1931. The exact figure on 30 June 1931 was 201,926.

factories using motive power in relation to the total number of factories and the variations in the number of men and women employed. In connection with these figures, it is interesting to observe that from 1900 to 1928 there appeared to be a slow tendency for the proportion of women to men employed to decrease as the use of motive power increased. This movement was not maintained in 1929, when the percentage of women employed (60.87 per cent.) was as high as in 1900.

The progress of industrialisation can also be measured by the increase in the output of factories. In 1909 the total product of Japanese factories was valued at some 780,000,000 yen, but at the end of 1929 it had attained 7,716,000,000 yen, an increase of almost ten times. As table VII shows, this increase has not been even. There was a steep rise in the value as well as in the quantity of manufactured goods during and immediately after the Great War when — the supply from Europe being suddenly arrested — markets in Asia, and to some extent elsewhere, were led to depend on the manufacturing capacity of Japan and other countries where man-power had not been absorbed by the fighting forces. The post-war depression was at its worst in 1921, and necessarily pressed most heavily on those industries which had undergone the most abnormal expansion<sup>1</sup>. A few industries escaped the general fate; among these were the printing and bookbinding trades, ceramic manufacture and foodstuffs<sup>2</sup>, for the return to competition with European trade did not affect them appreciably.

The position as regards the volume of industrial employment in Japan at the end of the period of development described in this chapter is shown by the statistics published by the Bureau of Social Affairs<sup>3</sup> which issues twice yearly figures showing the number of workers in factories, mines, transport and com-

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<sup>1</sup> For example the metal industry before the war produced under 48,000,000 yen's worth of goods and at the close of the war the value of its production was 338,000,000 yen. From the lowest point of the slump following the Armistice (250,000,000 yen in 1921) production increased again until it reached 689,500,000 yen at the end of 1929.

<sup>2</sup> The manufacture of foodstuffs has never suffered any serious setback. If the slight decrease in production during the last few years is excepted expansion has remained remarkably steady. The annual value of its manufacture (which includes *saké*, beer, liquor, etc., solely for home consumption) comes next in order to that of textiles, amounting to 1,124,000,000 yen.

<sup>3</sup> Published as supplement to *Rōdō Jihō* (Labour Gazette). The figures for 30 June and 31 Dec. appear usually in the numbers of the following months of September and March respectively.



munications, building, engineering, etc.<sup>1</sup> The figures for 1930 and 1931 are reproduced in table VIII.

The classification of occupations in these statistics may seem arbitrary, as a considerable number of industrial workers, if the

TABLE VIII. — NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, 1930-1931<sup>1</sup>

Industries	1931	1930
I. <i>Factory workers :</i> State or municipal factories :		
Men	101,773	101,483
Women	25,331	26,047
Total	127,104	127,530
Private factories :		
Men	939,497	975,705
Women	965,752	987,381
Total	1,905,249	1,963,086
All factory workers :		
Men	1,041,270	1,077,188
Women	991,083	1,013,428
Total	2,032,353	2,090,616
II. <i>Mining workers</i>		
Men	175,882	203,427
Women	26,044	44,774
Total	201,926	248,201
III. <i>Transport and communication</i>		
Men	479,532	465,785
Women	52,261	47,684
Total	531,793	513,469
IV. <i>Casual workers : <sup>2</sup></i>		
Men	1,518,572	1,493,333
Women	444,792	428,428
Total	1,963,364	1,921,761
Grand total		
Men	3,215,256	3,239,733
Women	1,514,180	1,534,314
AGGREGATE TOTAL	4,729,436	4,774,047

<sup>1</sup> Figures for 30 June 1930 and 1931, as published in *Rōdō Jihō*, supplement for Sept 1930 and 1931.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the *Hi-Yato*: who represent unskilled or semi-skilled labour in Japanese industry. Their work for the same employer may continue, but their contract must be renewed daily; as a rule this is done verbally at the end of each day's work.

<sup>1</sup> Owing to a difference of sources these figures are not comparable with those given in the previous tables, which have been collected by the Department of Commerce and Industry.

word "industry" be used to cover all productive work, do not appear in the table ; but it will be seen that most of the trades and occupations which have been affected by the spread of industrialism are included.

It is with the conditions of labour of this industrial population of 3,200,000 men and 1,500,000 women that this report is principally concerned, but before proceeding to describe these conditions, some more detailed account must be given of the economic structure of modern Japan.

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## CHAPTER IV

### ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MODERN JAPAN

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#### *Raw Materials*

The development of Japanese industry is the more remarkable as Japan is not rich in natural resources and particularly in the raw materials of industry<sup>1</sup>. Many raw materials must therefore be imported; in some cases the home supply just meets the demand; in a few exceptional cases there is a surplus for export. The situation regarding the supply of the principal raw materials will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

*Cocoon.* — Japan is completely independent as regards the supply of cocoon, only a small amount being imported from Shantung. Indeed, the production of cocoon has been developed to such a point that Japan is the most important producer of cocoon and raw silk. In 1928, Japan's production of these goods amounted to 61.7 per cent. and 55.9 per cent. respectively of the total world production. Raw silk is by far the most important single item of Japanese exports, representing an average of 37 per cent. of the total exports during 1927-1929. Its export value kept rising year by year till it amounted to over 781 million yen in 1929<sup>2</sup>.

The importance of the export side of the cocoon-raising industry has not been without serious disadvantages. This paradoxical situation arises because cocoon raising is carried on extensively in the small, poor and widely scattered agricultural households as a "subsidiary occupation", while as a matter of fact it is

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. HARADA: *Labour Conditions in Japan*. New York, Columbia University, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> This fell suddenly to 416,647,000 yen in 1930. (Cf. 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, p. 171.)

the main source of their money income. The amount of cocoon supply therefore can hardly be regulated rapidly enough to meet the fluctuations of the market. If raw silk were produced for the home market wholly or mainly this situation would not arise, but since the principal markets are foreign there is fierce competition to buy up cocoon when there is an unexpected demand for silk, while a slump<sup>1</sup> in the foreign market makes the price of cocoon fall suddenly, causing no small amount of hardship to the agricultural population and to the filatures also. The fact that the supply of cocoon is independent of foreign countries has also led to considerable speculation.

There is another difficulty from which this industry suffers. The process of raising cocoons is delicate and laborious and does not lend itself to intense mechanisation. Scientific improvements have been progressively introduced and have effected some saving of labour, but of all work which is on such a scale to be of high economic importance this industry would seem to be and is likely to remain the least industrialised. Moreover, the process of work involved in reeling silk is of such a nature that it does not need, or cannot use, much machinery with the result that the establishments for silk reeling on a large factory basis are not compensated necessarily by proportionate decrease of cost<sup>2</sup>. One of the consequences of this is that only a few large silk reeling factories have developed<sup>3</sup>, so that the bulk of the nation's production still depends on the work done by petty undertakings with but small capital to back them. This means that the people carrying on these undertakings suffer severely when sudden fluctuations take place in the silk market. Moreover, in the case of small mills where undried "fresh" cocoons are used for reeling silk, though at present such cases are rare, the workers tend to be

<sup>1</sup> As for instance lately in the United States.

<sup>2</sup> The mills having from 100 to 299 basins occupied the largest proportion (35 per cent.) in 1930 and it is believed that they constitute the backbone of this industry in Japan. The estimate of experts is that a mill having from 100 to about 200 is the most economic and efficient unit.

<sup>3</sup> The dimensions of silk reeling mills in 1929 were as follows :

Size	Number of establishments
Less than 10 basins. . . . .	367
10 to 299     "     . . . . .	3,131
300 to 999     "     . . . . .	213
1,000 or more     "     . . . . .	8
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>3,719</b>

overworked at the seasons when a large amount of work must be done quickly to avoid the deterioration of the cocoon. It is by intense human labour that raw silk has attained the leading place in the export list. At one time the advent of artificial silk threatened the prospects of the silk industry but recent figures do not appear to justify the apprehension that rayon will take the place of real silk or even diminish materially the economic importance of the silk industry. The gradual expansion of the silk industry in China may possibly have some effect on the Japanese industry in the future.

*Cotton.* — Very different is the position of the cotton industry. The cotton plant does not thrive on the soil of Japan and the native supply of raw cotton is totally inadequate to meet the demand. After the United States and Great Britain, Japan comes third among the cotton-consuming countries of the world ; the export of cotton goods form about 20 per cent. of the total Japanese exports<sup>1</sup> ; in 1930, therefore, 362,047,000 yen's worth of raw cotton<sup>2</sup> had to be imported, of which over 89 per cent. came from the United States of America and India.

*Coal.* — Coal is mined in Japan in considerable quantities. The annual production averaged 32,907,000 tons, valued at 285,086,000 yen, during the five-year period ending 1929<sup>3</sup>, while the average value of the imports of coal was 33,506,000 yen<sup>4</sup> for the same five-year period and actually 34,204,000 yen in 1930. There is, however, a considerable amount of coal exported every year, and until a few years ago, the amount exported exceeded the amount imported by several millions of yen ; but since 1927 the situation has altered and the annual excess of imports is worth about 12 million yen in the past few years. Adding together the

<sup>1</sup> In 1930, out of the total exports of 1,469,852,000 yen, cotton goods amounted to 298,200,100 yen or 20.3 per cent. of all.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1925, the import of raw cotton has decreased steadily from 923,355,000 yen in 1925 to 725,930,000 yen in 1926 ; 624,631,000 yen in 1927 ; 549,942,000 yen in 1928 ; 573,016,000 yen in 1929 and 362,047,000 yen in 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, 1931, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172. The imports and exports of coal from 1925 to 1930 were :

Year	Imports	Exports
1925 . . . . .	24,526,000 yen	33,204,000 yen
1926 . . . . .	27,562,000 "	31,032,000 "
1927 . . . . .	35,489,000 "	23,508,000 "
1928 . . . . .	36,976,000 "	24,514,000 "
1929 . . . . .	42,979,000 "	23,215,000 "
1930 . . . . .	34,204,000 "	21,783,000 "

value of the home production and of imported coal, it will be seen that nearly 300 million yen's worth of coal is consumed yearly in Japan. Practically all the coal consumed in Japan is consumed for industrial purposes. Coal is used only to a very small extent for heating purposes; as a rule Japanese houses are heated, if at all, by charcoal braziers.

As regards the adequacy of coal production in Japan, some serious studies have already been made, and the opinion has been expressed by a Japanese writer<sup>1</sup> that the production of coal would be found insufficient should the standard of living rise and coal be consumed for heating the houses. The high price of coal is also a serious handicap to industry, being about double the price in the United States<sup>2</sup>. Difficulties of production and high freight rates are stated to account for the price of coal.

*Oil.* — Every year there is an increasing demand for oil, but it is not produced in sufficient quantity to meet the demand. The average annual production of petroleum during the five-year period ending 1929 was 2,801,000 hectolitres, valued at 14,185,000 yen. The amount produced has, however, been decreasing steadily in the last few years, with but a slight rise in 1930, while the consumption has been increasing year by year. The value of imports of petroleum was over 34 million yen in 1929 and nearly 40 million yen in 1930.

*Iron.* — The domestic supply of iron also falls far short of the requisite amount. There are certain quantities of magnetite, hematite, etc., produced in Japan proper, and the total deposits have been estimated at roughly 123 million tons. The amount of pig iron produced in the country, however, fails to satisfy the demand, although the home production of pig iron has been considerably increased; the average amount of pig iron produced annually during the past decade represented about 60 per cent. of the national consumption.

For steel materials already manufactured into iron sheets,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. HARADA, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The average price of coal per metric ton in Japan (average for Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, Nagoya and Yokohama) in 1928 was 21.27 yen, while the price in the United States (average export price of bituminous coal) was 3.59 dollars for Canada and 4.23 dollars for oversea countries. (Cf. 48th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, 1929, p. 120, and U.S.A. DEPT. OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF MINES: *Coal in 1928*, p. 471.)

rods, bars, wires, etc., the situation is somewhat different. Here again, the home production is far from adequate to meet the need for home consumption, but statistics show that both the proportion to the total consumption and the actual amount of these materials produced at home are increasing. Of course these partly manufactured goods are not strictly "raw materials", but the figures are interesting as showing the decreasing dependence of Japan on foreign countries for her supplies. The proportion of home production to consumption of steel materials was as low as 36 per cent. in 1920, but in recent years this has risen to about 65 per cent.

The problem confronting Japanese industry as regards iron — as with coal — does not arise so much from a deficiency of deposits as from the cost of production. The cost is considerable, for Japan has no rich deposits concentrated in comparatively few districts as in England or the United States, but a number of small deposits scattered all over the country, the quality of the ore not being particularly good. And the difficulty is increased by the high freight rates.

*Copper.* — Before 1914 Japan was one of the world's main copper-exporting countries, being second only to the United States. Since the war, however, the situation has altered. The opening up of new mines in South America and Africa, the copper exporter's combine formed in the United States towards the end of 1926, followed by the general collapse in prices, have so lowered the price of copper that Japan's copper industry has suffered severely. In 1928 Japan exported less copper than she imported from the United States, and was only the fourth copper-producing country<sup>1</sup>, producing only about 66,000 tons<sup>2</sup>. The value of the 1928 exports was about 2,505,000 yen, while imports were of the value of 9,958,000 yen. The situation has, however, again improved, the imports falling to 3,574,000 yen in 1929 and 620,000 yen in 1930, while the exports have risen to 7,409,000 yen in 1929 and 21,281,000 yen in 1930<sup>3</sup>.

*Miscellaneous.* — Such raw materials as wool, leather, hides, bones, etc., the products of animal husbandry, are almost wholly

<sup>1</sup> Chile and Africa produced more than Japan.

<sup>2</sup> This rose to 69,400 tons in 1929.

<sup>3</sup> 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, pp. 172-176.

lacking in Japan. The limited land area, absence of pasture land, and indifference of farmers to stock-farming make it probable that Japan will remain dependent on other countries for these products.

TABLE IX. — EXPORT AND IMPORT OF FOODSTUFFS, RAW MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURED ARTICLES, 1921-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Food-stuffs	Manufactured food	Raw materials	Partly finished materials	Completely finished materials	Other manufactures	Total
<i>Exports (In 1,000 Yen)</i>							
1921	30,288	49,394	79,409	550,727	524,175	18,845	1,252,838
1922	43,725	60,671	84,736	842,431	581,955	23,933	1,637,451
1923	38,992	52,099	81,088	700,761	557,718	17,093	1,447,751
1924	46,051	67,250	104,795	862,225	705,371	21,343	1,807,035
1925	55,203	92,110	163,025	1,009,904	878,481	26,864	2,305,589
1926	49,170	98,125	140,250	881,863	852,119	23,201	2,044,728
1927	54,165	91,397	137,324	852,183	831,236	26,012	1,992,317
1928	47,009	116,151	90,249	861,188	812,919	44,349	1,971,955
1929	18,155	111,963	90,170	912,614	937,307	48,410	2,148,619
1930	42,060	86,760	63,279	546,429	691,190	38,133	1,469,851
<i>Imports (In 1,000 Yen)</i>							
1921	114,606	93,723	757,020	324,058	311,469	13,279	1,614,155
1922	195,357	94,879	828,004	390,572	345,379	16,073	1,890,308
1923	167,120	84,428	997,587	358,781	358,129	16,186	1,982,231
1924	254,038	94,043	1,166,501	452,268	471,858	14,694	2,453,402
1925	295,165	96,847	1,492,715	328,396	348,910	10,594	2,572,657
1926	243,221	107,059	1,341,918	357,181	314,990	13,115	2,377,484
1927	222,727	100,813	1,201,982	348,160	290,475	14,996	2,179,153
1928	208,694	89,649	1,165,198	382,813	332,544	14,566	2,196,315
1929	214,362	56,794	1,223,019	356,393	345,913	17,044	2,246,240
1930	147,678	60,718	828,552	236,427	255,009	13,790	1,546,051
<i>Exports (Percentage)</i>							
1921	2.4	3.9	6.4	44.0	41.8	1.5	100
1922	2.7	3.7	5.2	51.4	35.5	1.5	100
1923	2.7	3.6	5.6	48.4	38.5	1.2	100
1924	2.6	3.7	5.8	47.7	39.0	1.2	100
1925	2.4	4.0	7.0	47.3	38.1	1.2	100
1926	2.1	4.8	6.9	43.1	41.7	1.1	100
1927	2.7	4.6	6.9	42.8	41.7	1.3	100
1928	2.4	5.9	4.6	43.7	41.2	2.2	100
1929	2.2	5.2	4.2	42.5	43.6	2.3	100
1930	2.9	5.9	4.1	37.2	47.0	2.6	100
<i>Imports (Percentage)</i>							
1921	7.1	5.8	46.9	20.1	19.3	0.8	100
1922	10.3	5.0	43.8	20.7	19.3	0.9	100
1923	8.4	4.3	50.3	18.1	18.1	0.8	100
1924	10.4	3.8	47.6	18.4	19.2	0.6	100
1925	11.4	3.8	58.0	12.8	13.6	0.4	100
1926	10.9	4.5	56.4	15.0	13.2	0.6	100
1927	10.2	4.6	55.2	16.0	13.3	0.7	100
1928	9.5	4.1	53.1	17.4	15.2	0.7	100
1929	9.6	2.6	55.2	16.0	15.7	0.9	100
1930	9.5	3.9	53.6	15.3	16.5	1.2	100

<sup>1</sup> 50th Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan, p. 127



Japan produces flax, hemp, ramie, jute, etc., the annual value of which is about 10 million yen ; but the demand for these materials is about four times as large as the domestic supply, and the balance has to be imported from abroad.

### *Shortage of Raw Materials and Foreign Trade*

The influence of the shortage of raw materials on the economic structure of Japan is reflected in the statistics of foreign trade in two ways : the preponderance of raw materials among the imports and their comparative unimportance in the exports, and the adverse balance of trade.

TABLE X. — FOREIGN TRADE IN 1928-1929<sup>1</sup>

Class of commodities	1928	Per-centage	1929	Per-centage
<i>Exports (In 1,000 Yen)</i>				
1. Food, drink and tobacco	131,479	6.7	136,542	6.4
2. Textiles and materials for textile manufacture	1,307,629	66.5	1,443,475	67.3
3. Iron and steel and manufactures thereof	29,135	1.5	34,067	1.6
4. Fuel	24,514	1.2	23,171	1.1
5. Building materials other than iron and steel	24,850	1.3	30,321	1.4
6. Miscellaneous	454,348	22.8	480,975	22.2
Total	1,971,955	100.0	2,148,551	100.0
<i>Imports (In 1,000 Yen)</i>				
1. Food, drink and tobacco	251,726	11.2	207,512	9.5
2. Textiles and materials for textile manufacture	756,726	34.9	748,132	34.3
3. Iron and steel and manufactures thereof	241,588	11.1	279,956	12.8
4. Fuel	74,444	3.4	81,748	3.7
5. Building materials other than iron and steel	111,008	5.1	88,661	4.1
6. Miscellaneous	760,823	34.3	810,148	35.6
Total	2,196,315	100.0	2,216,157	100.0

<sup>1</sup> MITSUBISHI GŌSHI KAISHA. *Monthly Circular*, Feb. 1930 pp. 16-17, quoted in *Credit Position of Japan (Revised)*, Bulletin No. 39 of the Institute of International Finance, 25 Oct. 1930, p. 15.

In the list of important materials imported in 1928 raw cotton led all others with the figure of 549,613,000 yen (25 per cent.), followed by that of wool 111,856,000 yen ; lumber 111,008,000 yen ; soya bean cake 73,362,000 yen ; wheat 67,787,000 yen ; sugar 64,959,000 yen ; iron plates 55,854,000 yen ; soya bean 49,681,000 yen and crude or heavy oil 45,163,000 yen. The import of rice, sulphuric acid, ammonia, woollen yarn, coal and petroleum, each amounted to from 30 to 40 million yen

Reference to table IX shows that, in 1930, 53.6 per cent. of the total imports were raw materials, while they formed only

4.4 per cent. of the total exports. Japan exports partially manufactured goods in considerable quantities — 35.7 per cent. of the total exports — but if the exports of raw materials and partially manufactured goods are compared with the imports of the same classes, it will be seen that the imports are still notably in excess of the exports, the imports being almost 70 per cent. and the exports 40 per cent. In the ten years ending in 1930 the export of raw materials never rose above 7.2 per cent. of the total exports — with an average of 5.6 per cent. for the ten-year period — but the import of raw materials averaged 52.0 per cent. of the total imports, with a maximum of 58 per cent. in 1926.

Incidentally, table IX illustrates the present importance of the export of partially manufactured or manufactured articles; in 1930 they formed together 82.7 per cent. of the total exports, while the imports of such articles amounted to only 31.8 per cent. of the total. If the percentages for manufactured foodstuffs and “other manufactures” are added, the figures are even more striking: manufactured articles form 90.4 per cent. of the total exports, but only 36.6 per cent. of the total imports. The general nature of Japanese exports and imports is shown in table X.

The excess of visible imports over visible exports which is shown by the two preceding tables is not very large, but it is important as a normal feature of Japan's foreign trade. There have been fluctuations, as for example in 1929, when the excess of imports fell to 67,000,000 yen<sup>1</sup>; but the excess increased again in 1930. To counteract this adverse balance, resort has been had to the now common device of intensive propaganda for the consumption of home products in preference to foreign imports. But the fundamental causes — the dependence on imports of raw materials and, to a lesser extent, of foodstuffs and partially manufactured articles — still remain operative.

### *Capital*

The Statistical Bureau of the Japanese Cabinet estimated the national wealth in 1924 at 102,342 million yen, or 1,738 yen per

<sup>1</sup> The foreign trade of Japan in 1927-1930 was as follows (in 1,000,000 yen) :

Year	Exports	Imports	Excess of imports
1927	1,992	2,179	187
1928	1,972	2,196	224
1929	2,149	2,216	67
1930	1,470	1,546	76

*capita*. The national income in 1925 was 13,382 million yen with the *per capita* income of 218 yen <sup>1</sup>.

Statistics of capital investment show that on the eve of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895 the total of nominal capital of companies amounted to 308 million yen. Since 1895, Japan's industrial capital has increased over a hundred times and her commercial capital more than fifty times; in 1929, the total capital was estimated at 13,790,758,000 yen. The bulk of the capital, 44.7 per cent., is now invested in manufacturing industries and mining; commerce and banking account for 42.7 per cent.; transport absorbs now less than one-tenth, and agriculture and fishing the remainder of the total capital investment. The number of joint stock companies and partnerships of limited or unlimited liability increased from 4,133 before the above-named war to 46,692 in 1929 <sup>2</sup>.

While there has been a great increase in the number of small companies, capital has tended to be concentrated in a relatively small number of important companies <sup>3</sup>. The latest figures (for 1929) show that the capital of 27,740 companies (59.4 per cent.) was not more than 50,000 yen, while that of only 733 companies (1.5 per cent.) exceeded 5,000,000 yen. It is significant that over 9,000,000,000 yen or over 65 per cent. of Japanese capital is invested in 1.5 per cent. of the total number of companies, while only about 295,000,000 yen or 2.1 per cent. of capital is invested in nearly 60 per cent. of all the industrial and commercial companies of Japan <sup>4</sup>. Again, in 1929, over 83 per cent. of invested capital was under the control of companies with capital of a million yen or over, while less than 4 per cent. of the capital was at the disposal of those working on a capital of less than 100,000 yen. These comparisons show the increasing difficulties

<sup>1</sup> The income of the Japanese nation has increased as follows:

Year	Income in million yen	Index
1887	233	100.0
1907	1,532	656.0
1916	2,363	1,012.2
1925	13,382	5,731.3

<sup>2</sup> These figures are taken from *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Zensho*, pp. 87-88, and 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> This has had a repercussion on industrial conditions and relations (cf. Part II, Chapter II).

<sup>4</sup> There has been a rapid decline of capital investment in the smaller companies in the last twenty years, and a corresponding rise in its importance in the big companies.

encountered by the small companies in competing with the big companies<sup>1</sup>.

Apart from share capital, Japanese companies issue corporation bonds to finance new undertakings, a method of finance which became general during and after the Great War. The amount of outstanding internal corporation bonds exceeded 2,508 million yen at the end of 1930 : there were, for instance, 936.5 million yen in electric and gas works, 618 million in railways and tramways, 367 million in manufacturing industry, 192 million in shipping and shipbuilding. Bank bonds have also had an important share in the promotion of industries ; they amounted to close upon 2,274 million yen at the end of 1930.

The banks, and especially the Japan Industrial Bank, play an important part in financing new undertakings. The Japan Industrial Bank was established under the Japan Industrial Bank Act<sup>2</sup> and began business in April 1902 with the express object of providing financial facilities for industrial enterprises<sup>3</sup>. The bank is authorised to issue bonds up to ten times the amount of its paid up capital (50,000,000 yen). It makes loans on the security of the actual factories, their land or title deeds. There are in addition (also established by legislation) the Hypothec Bank, the Hokkaido Colonial Bank and agricultural and commercial banks in various prefectures. With the exception of the Hypothec Bank they were designed mainly to support agriculture and commerce and do not mean so much to industry as does the Japan Industrial Bank.

### *Communications*

*Railway and road transport.* — From the time that the first line was opened in 1872, between Tokyo and Yokohama, until 1907, the management of the railways was shared by the State and private companies. The State<sup>4</sup> took over the management in 1907, and since then much progress has been achieved and many improvements have been made in regard to speed, com-

<sup>1</sup> In 1929 the reserve fund of the 46,692 companies exceeded 2,873 million yen.

<sup>2</sup> Act No. 70 of 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Industrial finance in Japan in connection with marketing is discussed in some detail by S. HARADA, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-74.

<sup>4</sup> Railway finance is not included in the Budget or other State Accounts ; the Railway Act stipulates that all capital expenditure for construction, improvement, repairs, railway stores, etc., should be met by the operating revenue.

fort and safety<sup>1</sup>, including some to compensate the handicap of the narrow gauge. In 1930 the total mileage of Japanese railways was 12,813 miles, and the receipts from passengers and freight carried and from other sources amounted to 612 million yen. Passenger rates are low, but freight rates are considered by some writers to be unduly high.

As regards road services, there were, in 1930, 1,283 miles of electric tramways and 390 miles of horse-drawn or other tramways. In 1929, there were 45,855 passenger motor-cars and 25,700 motor-lorries, while the number of rickshaw men (*jin-riki-sha*) fell from 90,000 in 1923 to 33,000 in 1929.

*Shipping.* — The Japanese have always been seafarers, and up to the seventeenth century Japanese vessels sailed the South Seas and along the south eastern Asiatic coast; they even went as far afield as India<sup>2</sup>. Maritime expansion was, however, checked by the Shogunate, which, fearing Jesuit penetration into the country, strictly prohibited the building of ships for ocean navigation, and was not renewed until the policy of seclusion was abandoned and the country re-opened after the Restoration. Since 1868, there has been rapid and continuous expansion and Japan is now one of the most important maritime countries<sup>3</sup>.

The present development of Japanese shipping is the result of the policy of the Meiji Government which in the early 'seventies promulgated maritime laws and promoted the formation of shipping companies, preferring to put the merchant service into private hands under the protection of the State rather than to make it a State enterprise. In 1875 such vessels as the Government possessed were handed over to the Mitsubishi Company with an

<sup>1</sup> Automatic couplings have been adopted.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Y. TAKEKOSHI, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 480-502.

<sup>3</sup> The total gross tonnage of vessels over 100 tons, including mechanically propelled fishing vessels, of the countries of chief maritime importance is as follows:

Country	Number of vessels	Tonnage
Great Britain . . . . .	8,238	20,438,000
United States . . . . .	3,530	11,388,000
Japan . . . . .	2,060	4,317,000
Germany . . . . .	2,157	4,229,000
Norway . . . . .	1,916	3,668,000
France . . . . .	1,651	3,531,000
Italy . . . . .	1,380	3,331,000
Netherlands . . . . .	1,401	3,086,000
Sweden . . . . .	1,417	1,624,000
Greece . . . . .	546	1,391,000

Cf. *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*, 1930-1931 edition.

annual subsidy for fifteen years of 250,000 yen for shipping and 15,000 for the training of seamen ; the total number of registered vessels was then only 149, with a tonnage of 42,000. The present *Nippon Yusen Kaisha* (N. Y. K.) came into being in 1885 by the amalgamation of the Mitsubishi Company and a rival concern started shortly before. The *Osaka Shosen Kaisha* (O. S. K.) was organised in 1884 and the Asano Shipping Department — later the *Toyo Kisen* — in 1887. Between 1893 and 1896, with the stimulus of the Sino-Japanese war, the gross tonnage of Japanese shipping rose from 110,000 to 373,000 and the number of ships increased from 680 to 899. In 1896 laws were enacted to encourage navigation as well as shipbuilding ; a new line to Europe was opened, and three important trans-Pacific lines. The Osaka-Bombay line, discontinued during the war with China, was resumed, and competition for the China trade led rival lines to amalgamate in 1907 as *Nisshin Kisen Kaisha* (Japan and China Steamship Company).

After 1906 there was a further important period of expansion ; ocean liners and cargo vessels began to be designed on a much larger scale than before, and the total tonnage advanced from something like 660,000 tons in 1903 to over 1,000,000 tons. During the world war, Japan was able to concentrate on increase of tonnage and succeeded in producing an increase of 76 per cent. so that by the time the Peace Treaty was signed her gross tonnage was over 3 millions. The annual income from shipping, which now exceeds 4 million tons, has recently been about 120 million yen.

#### *Power Resources*<sup>1</sup>

Japan ranks high among countries having an abundant supply of water power<sup>2</sup>. The heavy rainfall, combined with the hilly character of the country, offer great advantages for the use of hydraulic power. Roughly speaking, water power resources are distributed among the main Japanese islands as follows : the thirty-three rivers of Honshu are capable of producing 9,600,000 horse power ; the seven rivers of Kyushu 677,000 ;

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<sup>1</sup> Power obtained from coal and oil is examined above in connection with the supply of raw materials.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect the United States, Canada, Norway and Switzerland come before Japan, but the relative amount of supply is much higher for Japan than for most other countries because of her small land area.

while the three rivers each of Hokkaido and Shikoku could supply 496,000 and 296,000 respectively. It is estimated that the total amount of normal level water that can be put to economic use is approximately  $13\frac{1}{2}$  million horse power<sup>1</sup>. So far only 3,586,000 of this potential supply is actually generated (from 994 stations), while permission has already been obtained from the authorities to utilise a further 4,730,000 horse power as and when opportunity offers. Thus the amount of power under control represents only 27 per cent. of the total resources.

Until the last few years the progress of hydro-electric power<sup>2</sup> was retarded by the difficult access to the water heads, which made the harnessing of the power an extremely expensive undertaking. But the increase of capital due to the running of Japanese industry at its full capacity during the war has made more rapid progress possible. The lucrative prospects attracted capital to the hydro-electric industry, and to-day more capital is invested in it than in any other Japanese industry; the total sum invested amounted in 1929 to 2,387 million yen (in 493 companies) representing 32.5 per cent. of the entire capital invested in industrial enterprises.

Lately there has been a marked tendency to concentrate the different companies under the control of a few combines. The Tokyo Electric Light Company has absorbed many other companies and is now the largest corporation of all undertakings in Japan, with a total paid-up capital of some 350 million yen. The Tōhō Electric Power Company of Tokyo and the *Daidō Denryoku* of Osaka have taken in smaller companies and have now respectively a paid up capital of 130 and 113 million yen. The Osaka company is planning to supply Tokyo from its water head in Kiso, a distance of over 300 miles.

By the appearance of these huge capitalistic combines in the electric industry, and the changes that electric power has brought about in the processes of manufacturing, transport, etc., Japan

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<sup>1</sup> Researches made by the Government in 1923 revealed that the total volume of water power that can be developed from 2,822 heads existing in Japan proper is 6,415,000 h.p. in drought, a maximum of 14,090,000 h.p. at normal level and a yearly average of 11,933,000 h.p. (Cf. *The Japan Year Book*, 1930, p. 386.)

<sup>2</sup> The first private electric company in Japan (generating power by coal) was formed in 1889. Canalisation work for conducting the water of Lake Biwa to Kyoto (completed in 1890) suggested the utility of water power. Up to then hydro-electricity was unknown, but gradually hydraulic power has superseded coal for the generation of electricity.

seems to be entering on "another stage of industrial revolution" <sup>1</sup>. The pace of mechanisation within the last twenty years can be measured by a study of table XI, which shows also to what extent the use of electric power spread during the Great War; it is the largest single item of all kinds of motive power now in use in Japan although in actual amount of horse power used the proportion (45.5 per cent.) of the war period has gradually declined in the last ten years.

TABLE XI. — MOTIVE POWER USED IN FACTORIES, 1909-1929 <sup>1</sup>

(In 1,000 Horse Power)

Kind of motive power	1909	1914	1919	1924	1927	1928	1929
Steam engine . .	326	418	525	478	493	617	377
Steam turbine. .	66	172	290	760	1,639	1,684	1,568
Gas engine. . .	12	50	84	55	33	31	21
Oil engine . . .	7	7	9	13	27	30	25
Turbine water wheel . . . .	58	226	295	595	1,153	1,345	2,038
Pelton water wheel . . . .	21	64	57	245	254	376	556
Japanese water wheel . . . .	4	4	11	7	5	5	12
Electric motor. .	241	347	1,063	1,486	2,149	2,301	4,931
Total horse power	735	1,288	2,334	3,639	5,753	6,389	9,528
Percent. of electric motive power to the total	32.9 %	27.0 %	45.5 %	40.8 %	39.0 %	36.0 %	51.7 %
Factories :							
Number of factories using motive power . .	9,155	14,578	26,947	37,141	43,726	46,247	48,822
Total number of factories . . .	32,390	31,859	41,087	48,394	53,680	55,948	59,887
Percentage of factories using motive power . .	28.3 %	45.7 %	65.6 %	78.8 %	81.3 %	82.6 %	83.2 %

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from *Kōjō Tōkei Hyō* for 1926 and 1928, pp 74-75, and *The Thirty-First Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, 1931, pp. 86-87.

<sup>1</sup> K. TAKAHASHI: *Nihon Keizai no Kaibō* (Analysis of Japanese Economy). p. 63.



## PART II

# INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

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### CHAPTER I

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

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#### *Influx of New Ideas*

In addition to features common to all industrial communities, industrial relations in Japan present special problems which can only be understood in the light of the historical circumstances in which Japanese industry has evolved. The outstanding characteristics of the early period of development were the influx of new ideas from the West, their clash with feudalistic traditions, and the rapid absorption of social doctrines and political ideals which were foreign and antagonistic to the feudalistic conception of old Japan<sup>1</sup>. Among these ideas none exercised a greater influence than that of the individual rights of man<sup>2</sup>.

In the static feudal society under the *Shōgun* the family was the unit, a rigid line was drawn between the noble and the plebeian, and lineage counted more than personality. Any commoner deemed to have insulted or injured the honour of a *Samurai* might be killed by him with impunity. Under the moral rule of the feudal age it was esteemed as a virtue for the common

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<sup>1</sup> A concise account of the influence of the new Western ideas on Japan in the Meiji era is found in *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, pp. 1-36.

<sup>2</sup> The Japanese words *Kenri* for right and *Gimu* for duty or obligation with the full content of their Western equivalents had to be coined when the jurisprudence of the West was introduced into Japan. Up to then they did not exist in the Japanese vocabulary.

people to be content with their status; up to the abolition of class distinctions no commoner might even have a surname.

When the words *Kenri* and *Gimu* were first heard in the schools, at public meetings or in the streets, they signified the new spirit of revolt against the repressive customs of the old regime — the awakening to newly discovered ideals of freedom and democracy. A flood of unfamiliar aspirations had taken possession of the popular mind; the change was as radical as it was sudden.

From the early 'seventies, as the people became more conscious of the idea of political freedom, their growing demand was for the establishment of a representative national assembly and their favourite watchword was *Min-ken* (the people's rights). The change of spirit was revealed by the strange political jargon of the day, and also by the phenomenal sale of translations of many Western books, dealing with the rights of the people. During the 'seventies and early 'eighties, the political treatises of the forerunners of the French Revolution, such as Rousseau and Montesquieu, were read with avidity by Japanese scholars. A translation of the "*Contrat social*" made a sensation by its popularity, though it was translated not into Japanese but into the more difficult Chinese. Throughout Japan the social philosophy of Spencer, Bentham and the two Mills and utilitarian economic theories generally were eagerly studied, as were at a later period, the revolutionary doctrines of Kropotkin, Bakunin, Marx and Lenin, in books or pamphlets surreptitiously obtained. The publication of a complete translation of the Communist Manifesto and of articles commenting favourably on these revolutionary doctrines meant the imprisonment of the authors of the articles, but neither prison nor even capital punishment<sup>1</sup> effectively arrested the diffusion of these "dangerous ideas"<sup>2</sup>.

Once the people had secured some measure of political freedom, therefore, the new ideas from the West began to make their influence felt in the sphere of industrial relations.

In the early stages of industrial development, while large-scale factories and vast dockyards were still unknown, the rela-

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<sup>1</sup> Capital punishment may be inflicted under the revised Public Peace Preservation Act upon those who attempt the overthrow of the Imperial regime by founding, for example, a Republican or a Communist Party.

<sup>2</sup> The earlier form of Communism, Syndicalism and sometimes even moderate Socialism were tabooed in the Meiji era as *Kiken Shisō* or "dangerous ideas".

tions between employer and worker were still largely of a feudal character. In the smaller workplaces, in particular, the spirit of paternalism prevailed and the employer for the most part selected and directed his workers himself. There was still close personal touch and friendly co-operation, and organised disputes — even the word “strike” — were still unknown.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 was, however, followed by a period of rapid expansion in banking, shipping, ship-building, manufacturing and mining; a new factor was introduced into industrial life, i.e. a distinct class of wage earners. Although this was a period of national prosperity and millionaires multiplied, heavier taxes and higher prices brought increased hardship for the poorer classes. The general tendency of the time was towards the widening of the social gap between the rich and poor<sup>1</sup>. The infiltration of the individualism of the West and the growth of a wage-earning class employed by capitalistic enterprises led inevitably to sharp class divisions. The stage was set for the outbreak of labour disputes.

The various economic and other factors which have conditioned the development of industrial relations in Japan may then be summed up as follows :

- (1) Western ideas (especially Socialistic doctrines), elementary education and urban concentration, which have facilitated the organisation of mass movements.
- (2) Capitalistic economy, which has brought into existence a large class of wage earners, and has led to the transformation of the old friendly relationship between the *Oya-kata* and his *dei-shi* (at once pupil and worker) into an impersonal relationship between the employer and employed — a relationship of rights and obligations.
- (3) The principle of free contract adopted by Japanese legislation early in the Meiji era, together with the con-

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<sup>1</sup> The *Kokumin no Tomo* (People's Friend), an influential journal of this epoch, wrote in March 1897 in its editorial column under the title “The Trend of the Social Problem” as follows : “. . . We now recognise that the facts before our eyes are paving the way for the rise of social problems. Take for example the millionaires of to-day. Who among them is not a trading man under Government patronage? Which one among them has not amassed his wealth by either direct or indirect support of the Government? A policy of this sort is to enable the rich to create their fortune by fettering the masses with chains. The rich are growing richer, and the poor even poorer.”

centration of capital in relatively few hands have tended to keep conditions of labour on a low level, and from this a deep social cleavage has resulted.

### *The "Family System" on Trial*

It has already been stated that what is known as the "family system" is one of the most characteristic features of Japanese society; the development of industrialism has affected this social heritage of the feudal age perhaps more than any other. Since the adoption of the factory system many Japanese employers have been actuated by the sincere belief that their relations with their employees — however numerous these may be — should be founded on the idea that they all form part of the same family<sup>1</sup>. Those who maintain this point of view think that in modern industry the same relationship as existed in feudal times between the *oya-kata* and his men should continue, i.e. employers should be moved in their treatment of their workers by feelings of affection<sup>2</sup>, should protect their interests and look after their welfare. It is upon this belief that a great deal of their welfare work for the workers has been based, welfare work which takes the form, for instance, of granting allowances to workers on discharge, or in cases of sickness, injury, marriage, childbirth, death, etc. On the ground that these grants, which are important items in their expenses of management, are made voluntarily under the family system without any legal requirement, some employers contend that labour legislation is superfluous. Further, the opposition of the employers to the enactment of a trade union law was based on the argument that such legislation would tend to incite class feeling and thus be detrimental to the precious traditions of the family system.

There are a number of signs, however, that the family system is weakening. Probably the most important is the proposal made by a Governmental Commission originally appointed in 1919 to revise the Civil Code. The revision proposed by the Commission, which is still under discussion, is concerned with a number of sections hitherto regarded as provisions expressly inserted in the

<sup>1</sup> "If such a relationship is established between the employer and the employed, it is believed that the relations founded on rights and obligations in employment will at once change to a feeling of kinship, based on humane sentiments, and all disputes will cease." (BUNJI SUSUKI: *Nihon no Rodo Mondai* (The Labour Problem of Japan"), pp. 164-165.

<sup>2</sup> *Onjō Shugi* (literally "warmheartedness").

Civil Code in order to safeguard the family system, and this created the impression that even the Governmental Commission considered it as obsolete and in need of a statutory revision<sup>1</sup>. The recent spread of unemployment has also given occasion for the adequacy of the family system to be questioned, for it is argued that if the system were operating satisfactorily the suffering resulting from unemployment would be considerably mitigated. Lastly, although the fact that a strike has taken place in the works of a company where the application of the family system has been recognised as typical furnishes no conclusive proof of the breakdown of the system, it cannot be denied that this is a striking sign that it is now on its trial.

In view of its importance, some further reference must be made to this strike. The firm concerned was the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company, the largest concern of its kind in Japan, employing 35,000 workers in thirty-six mills. The strike was caused by the announcement of drastic cuts in the cost-of-living bonuses granted to the workers during the war. The importance of the strike was the greater in the public mind because the Company is an outstanding example of the application of the family system, especially in the dormitories which, in accordance with current practice, the management provides for the young women operatives. The Company provides facilities for education and recreation, has organised detailed measures for the safeguarding of the health of the workers, and makes allowances in case of illness, injury, invalidity or death according to a definite

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. S. MIURA: "Nihon no Kazoku Seido to Minpō" (The Japanese Family System and the Civil Code), an article published in *Keizai Ronso*, Nov. and Dec. 1930., pp. 18-31 and 65-79 respectively. The writer points out the error of the popular conception, shows that the family system was limited to the classes of *Samurai* and the peers, and stresses the need of revising the law to suit changing social circumstances.

More than twenty years ago, Mr. Bunji Suzuki pointed out what he considered to be the weaknesses of the family system: (i) The practice of the family system demands wisdom and high moral character in the employer, a combination of virtues which is rarely found. (ii) The family system may be practicable in separate and particular factories, but it cannot be universally applied. (iii) The family system is apt to be despotic and paternalistic; therefore its maintenance is difficult when the workers become more educated. (iv) The family system is incompatible in essence with the modern economic system of factory industry, and so it becomes ineffective when economic crises break out. The writer further points out that the system can in no way take the place of either factory law or other social legislation and cannot replace trade unionism. A far wiser alternative would be to co-operate with sound workers' organisations instead of trying to combat them with the family system. (Cf. B. Suzuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178.)

schedule<sup>1</sup>. It had always been thought that a strike was impossible in the mills of this Company, which has never recognised trade unionism, and no labour dispute had previously been recorded.

### *Increase of Labour Disputes<sup>2</sup>*

It is significant that the first recorded strike of Japanese workers took place as the result of a clash of a Western system of transport with a native trade. It occurred in 1883 when the rickshaw men of Tokyo rose in protest against the introduction of a tramway system in the city. They formed a union under the name *Shakai Tō* (literally "Rickshaw Men's Party"), but the strike was badly conducted — it was indeed little more than a riot — and failed, resulting in the immediate collapse of the union. Ten years elapsed before, in January 1893, another strike broke out in the Tenman Spinning Mill at Osaka.

No statistics of labour disputes are available until the year 1897, but it may be assumed that, apart from these two strikes, there were none of any importance<sup>3</sup>. During the latter half of the year 1897, however, there were thirty-two cases of disputes involving 3,517 workers. Since then, statistics show that the number of workers involved in industrial disputes increased nearly every year, but that the number of strikes did not rise much until the Great War when the number suddenly doubled in about a year and continued to increase in the following years.

The decennial period 1897-1906 may be considered as the *first period* of the development of industrial disputes in Japan. During this period the number of labour disputes was comparatively few, being less than twenty cases per annum except in 1897 and 1898 when the effect of the upheaval of the war with China still remained; 1898 was exceptional as it was in that year that a spectacular strike was carried out by the locomotive drivers

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Kanegafuchi Spinning Company Limited — Its Constitution : How it cares for its employees*, pp. 1-102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kyocho Kai, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-373; KISHI MURASHIMA : *Rōdō Sōgi no Jissai Chishiki* (Practical Knowledge of Labour Disputes), pp. 1-11; KOICHI HASEGAWA : "Naigai ni okeru Rōdō Sōgi no kindaiteki Sūsei" (Recent Tendencies of Labour Disputes in Japan and Abroad), published in *Shakai Seisaku Jihō*, Oct. 1930, pp. 3-8.

<sup>3</sup> In 1887 a riot occurred at the Takashima Coal Mines in Kyushu as a result of ill-treatment of the miners' and in 1888 a lock-out took place at a tea-manufacturing mill in Yokohama, but these incidents were of relatively small importance. They could not be regarded as real strikes or lock-outs.

of the Nippon Railway Company, numbering about 400 men, who struck simultaneously at Uyeno (Tokyo), Utsunomiya, Sendai, Awomori, etc. Having previously arranged a secret code among the strikers at the main stations, they communicated with one another by telegram. The north-eastern railway system, covering a distance of over 500 miles, was completely paralysed, and trains on some other lines were stopped suddenly at certain fixed hours by men who wished to show their sympathy with the strikers. A feature of the strike was the strict discipline maintained among the strikers, who were led by a few prominent Socialists such as Sen Katayama<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that about this time interest in both Socialism and in the movement to form trade unions was awakened among intellectuals<sup>2</sup>, but apart from the successfully organised railway strike, labour disputes of this period were still unorganised and of little importance. After 1900, militant labour movements ceased for some years as a result of the application of the Public Peace Police Act which repressed agitation in labour disputes. There were only six strikes, involving not more than 879 men, in 1904, the year of the Russo-Japanese War. The total number of industrial disputes in the ten-year period was only 164, involving 29,488 workers.

During the *second period* (1907-1919), though there were some fluctuations, Japan enjoyed unprecedented prosperity, and from 1915 to 1919 especially her industries were abnormally busy owing to the complete absence of European competition. Social movements developed, and labour disputes were of a more organised character. This period began with strikes at the Ashio Copper and the Besshi Silver Mines in 1907, in which the troops finally intervened to suppress violence. In 1907 there were in all fifty-seven strikes with 9,855 participants; the highest figures recorded in the Meiji era. The next big strike was that on the Tokyo tramways (end of 1911 to beginning of 1912), when the transport system of the city was stopped for several days during the busiest season at the end of the year. On the whole, however, industrial relations remained comparatively good after the exceptional year of 1907 until the abnormal situation produced by the Great War.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SEN KATAYAMA : *The Labour Movement in Japan* (in English), pp. 40-42.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *Dōmei Hikō* (literally : " concerted cessation of work ") then began to be used generally, but in still more common use was the word *Sutoraiki* which is the Japanese pronunciation of the English word " strike ".

From about 1911 and 1912, when the *Meiji* era passed to the new *Taisho* era, a change gradually came about; it was then that the *Yuai Kai*, and other early trade unions of the modern type began to build up their organisations<sup>1</sup>. In 1912 the number of cases of labour disputes as well as the number of participants suddenly doubled. Although 1914, the first year of the Great War, was a year of economic depression, the continuation of hostilities in Europe brought a period of prosperity to Japan, which although of short duration radically altered her industrial situation. But the sudden expansion of industrial enterprises, the concentration of workers in manufacturing centres, and the loss of economic equilibrium in wages and cost of living accelerated the increase of strikes; in 1916 there were 108 strikes, 398 in 1917, 417 in 1918. Disputes arising from the demand for higher wages rose from 71 (or 66 per cent.) in 1916 to 304 (76 per cent.) in 1917, and 340 (82 per cent.) in 1918. The record year was 1919, with no fewer than 497 strikes, involving 63,137 workers. Disputes became epidemic, and in this year the historic strike at the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Yards in Kobe took place, involving over 15,000 workers; for the first time *ca' canny* was practised as part of strike tactics. The famous social reformer Toyohiko Kagawa was among the leaders of the strike, who were arrested and imprisoned. The strike was significant not only for its size but for the results it obtained; for the first time a limitation of hours of work to eight in the day was achieved in Japan. Another result was that *ca' canny* methods were adopted in twenty-three other disputes in the same year.

The International Labour Organisation had considerable influence on the Japanese situation — particularly in that eventful year of 1919. The demand for an eight-hour day made by the *Yuai Kai* at its annual congress of that year was influenced by the presence of this question on the agenda of the International Labour Conference held at Washington. At the same time the success of the strike at the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Yards in obtaining the eight-hour day was an object lesson to other Japanese employers and workers. The rapid spread of trade unions was opposed by employers, who either discharged or refused to employ members of unions. Consequently many strikes arose

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<sup>1</sup> Cf below, p. 91.



from the workers' demands for "the freedom or recognition of trade unions", for "collective bargaining", etc.<sup>1</sup>.

The *third period* (1920-1930) began with an acute financial crisis, but the development of the labour movement continued steadily. Labour disputes began to be conducted in a more systematic and organised manner; the strikers showed more discipline and the strikes ceased to be mere sporadic and violent uprisings leading to illegal acts. The largest strikes in Japanese history took place in this period, and the number of labour disputes has increased year by year.

In the spring of 1920 a panic overtook Japan. Factory after factory was closed down in the acute depression that followed the war, and for the first time unemployment became a grave social problem. It resulted from this situation that, although strikes decreased in number, any strike that broke out was serious for it was a part of organised warfare, with carefully planned tactics and a "technique" of its own.

In the great strike at the Yawata State Iron Foundry in 1920 the strikers let out the fire of the smelting furnaces. Strikes of no less gravity than this occurred in other important undertakings such as the Ashio Copper Mines, Sumitomo Copper Works, Fujinagata Shipbuilding Yards in Osaka, and the Kawasaki and Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Yards in Kobe.

The disastrous earthquake of 1923 was a turning point of the labour movement in Japan. About this time Japanese trade unions adopted a more practical policy, and violent and reckless methods were less frequently employed. Moderation began to be the keynote in strikes and in the workers' tactics generally. This was shown in the disputes of this time, among which the most notable were those at the Electric Bureau of Osaka in 1924, the Besshi Copper Mines in 1925, the Hamamatsu Musical Instrument Factory in 1926, the Noda Shoyu Manufacturing Company in 1927. The last mentioned continued for more than seven months (from September 1927 until April 1928); finally it was amicably settled by the mediation of the *Kyocho Kai*<sup>2</sup>. This strike was one

<sup>1</sup> As the methods used in conducting disputes were copied from Western countries, the terminology employed in conducting the strikes was still new to the workers. At a certain shipbuilding yard, the workers' demands included the item of "recognition of the right of *Dantai Kōshō*", which means collective bargaining. The employer asked a member of the committee of the strikers the meaning of the new word. The latter, not knowing what to say, replied: "I will reply to-morrow after consulting the committee"

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 131.

of the biggest and longest ever experienced, and the loss to the Company was estimated as considerably exceeding a million, while the expense to the General Federation of Labour amounted to more than a 100,000 yen.

In 1928 there was a yet more serious strike of seamen, under the leadership of Kunitaro Hamada, President of the Japan Seamen's Union. In all important ports and harbours the vessels of companies which had not concluded an agreement with the Union on hours, wages and other conditions of work of their seamen<sup>1</sup> were unable to go to sea. As a result, the Japan Seamen's Union was able to sign the first minimum wage agreement recorded in Japan. Two years later there was the strike in the mills of the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company, to which reference has been made above in connection with the "family system".

This survey of the larger strikes of the last ten years suggests the increasing tension of industrial relations in Japan. The change is even more clearly shown by the statistics of labour disputes in the last decade. Leaving aside the exceptional boom years, 1917-1919, when disputes were especially numerous, and the years of depression and national disaster, 1920 and 1923, it can be said that the figures show a constant upward tendency: the curve has risen acutely in the last few years with 571 disputes involving 77,281 workers in 1929, and with 906 disputes involving 81,329 workers in 1930.

TABLE XII — INCREASE OF LABOUR DISPUTES, 1919-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of cases	Number of workers involved	Average number of workers involved per case
1919	497	63,137	127
1920	282	36,371	129
1921	246	58,225	240
1922	250	41,503	166
1923	270	36,259	134
1924	333	54,526	163
1925	292	39,412	138
1926	469	63,644	135
1927	383	46,672	121
1928	393	43,337	110
1929	571	77,281	135
1930	906	81,329	89

<sup>1</sup> The figures until 1921 were taken by the Police Bureau of the Department of the Interior; thereafter, by the Bureau of Social Affairs and reported in *Rōdō Jihō* each month.

<sup>1</sup> This included practically all the shipping companies except the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Osaka Shosen Kaisha, Kinkai Yusen Kaisha, Mitsui Bussan Kaisha.

*Nature of Labour Disputes*<sup>1</sup>

Another characteristic of industrial relations in Japan during the last ten or twelve years has been the decrease in the number of disputes settled by compromise. In 1919, when the total number of disputes was very high, the number which ended in strikes or lock-outs amounted to only 21 per cent. of the whole; in 1930, however, they rose to nearly 40 per cent. There has also been an increase in the number of lock-outs: official figures show that while in 1927 there were 20 lock-outs with 809 workers concerned, there were 28 lock-outs in 1929 involving 5,215 workers. In 1930, the number of lock-outs rose to 90, involving as many as 7,112 workers.

TABLE XIII. — LABOUR DISPUTES ENDING IN STRIKES, LOCK-OUTS OR CA' CANNY, AND OTHERS ENDING WITH COMPROMISE, 1919-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Disputes ending in strikes lock-outs or ca' kanny		Disputes ending with compromise	
	Number of cases	Percentage	Number of cases	Percentage
1919	497	21	1,891	79
1920	282	26	787	74
1921	246	27	650	73
1922	250	43	334	57
1923	270	42	377	58
1924	333	37	600	63
1925	293	35	523	65
1926	295	39	765	61
1927	383	32	819	68
1928	393	39	629	61
1929	571	40	844	60
1930	906	39	1,383	61

<sup>1</sup> *Rodo Jiho*, May 1931, pp 18-19

A further feature of industrial disputes in Japan is that up to the present the average number of workers affected in each case has been comparatively small. The explanation is that most strikes, lock-outs and cases of ca' kanny have been confined to a particular factory, workshop or mine. Disputes in which the workers of a number of factories or mines act together, either in

<sup>1</sup> Free use has been made of an article already cited, written by Mr. K. Hasegawa, an official in the Bureau of Social Affairs, dealing with labour disputes.

pursuance of a common object or out of sympathy with the workers mainly concerned, are still comparatively rare. The 'Tokyo newspaper printing operatives' strike in 1919, in which most of the printing offices of newspapers of the city were involved, the Kobe dockers' strike of 1921, in which the dockyards of Kawasaki and three companies under the management of the Mitsui firm joined, and the seamen's strike of 1928 already mentioned are outstanding examples of sympathetic strikes.

Such strikes are, however, exceptional, and the highest average number of workers involved in disputes was reached with the figure of 237 in 1921, while it was as low as 116 in 1928. Since about 1926, petty disputes affecting fifty or fewer workers have much increased in number; on the other hand, strikes involving 500 or more workers have hardly increased at all. The small scale of disputes is, of course, attributable in some degree to the large number of small undertakings in Japanese industry and also to the limited membership of the trade unions involved in these disputes. But it is also due to the fact that small-scale factories have been hit more severely than larger ones in periods of depression, and have therefore been involved more readily in disputes. Owing to want of resources and economic power of resistance, they have been the first to try to reduce costs by wage-cuts, wholesale discharge of workers or withholding of wages.

TABLE XIV. — COMPARATIVE SIZE OF DISPUTES, 1921-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Dispute of 49 or less workers		Dispute of 50 to 499 workers		Dispute of 500 workers or more	
	Number of cases	Percentage	Number of cases	Percentage	Number of cases	Percentage
1921	122	50	100	45	14	5
1922	114	46	117	47	19	7
1923	150	56	100	37	20	7
1924	175	52	130	40	28	8
1925	163	55	114	39	16	6
1926	293	59	183	38	17	3
1927	229	60	144	35	20	5
1928	257	65	135	32	14	3
1929	371	64	196	32	22	4

Small disputes do not as a rule arouse much public attention, but their results are often particularly deplorable. The small employer may be ruined as well as the workers concerned. Big strikes, such as that of 1921 in the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Yards, cause grave social unrest and damage, but they are fortunately rare. For example, during the past decade there were only eight disputes which involved 5,000 or more workers<sup>1</sup>. The frequency of the smaller strikes has, therefore, most bearing on the industrial situation of Japan.

There has also been a marked tendency in recent years for industrial disputes to last longer than formerly. In 1919, which, as has been seen, was a freak year as regards the total number of disputes, 488 disputes (98 per cent.) were settled in less than ten days, while 363 disputes did not last more than three days. In 1929, however, 202 cases (35 per cent.) lasted for more than eleven days, and 56 for more than a month; this indicated a radical change in the situation. Figures for the whole period 1919-1929 are given in the following table:

TABLE XV. — DURATION OF LABOUR DISPUTES, 1919-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	3 days or less		4-10 days		11-30 days		31 days or more	
	Number of cases	Workers involved	Number of cases	Workers involved	Number of cases	Workers involved	Number of cases	Workers involved
1919	363	34,057	125	25,401	9	3,679	—	—
1920	167	12,938	82	15,202	33	8,231	—	—
1921	128	11,365	74	12,936	42	33,719	—	—
1922	118	11,407	90	13,056	34	13,014	8	4,026
1923	118	9,701	85	14,180	52	9,314	13	3,029
1924	133	13,396	112	20,718	77	16,510	11	3,902
1925	122	14,835	96	9,793	67	15,335	8	779
1926	149	30,580	184	20,107	100	9,145	60	20,496
1927	144	9,369	118	10,098	68	9,162	46	15,592
1928	159	17,969	135	16,638	71	6,488	25	4,972
1929	166	28,897	197	20,724	146	16,040	56	10,141

<sup>1</sup> K. HASEGAWA, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Neither the number of disputes nor the number of workers involved corresponds to the totals for most years because almost every year there are a certain number of disputes which have been reported at the outbreak but died out quietly leaving no trace.

<sup>1</sup> The disputes involving 5,000 or more workers were as follows: 1921, 2; 1924, 1; 1926, 2; 1928, 1; 1929, 2.

To estimate the economic loss caused by industrial disputes it is important to know their duration in man-days. The following table gives figures for the period 1924 to 1930.

TABLE XVI. — WORKING-DAYS LOST BY DISPUTES, 1924-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of cases	Number of workers affected	Number of days lost
1924	333	54,526	638,363
1925	293	40,742	361,225
1926	495	67,224	722,292
1927	383	46,672	1,177,352
1928	393	43,337	583,595
1929	571	77,281	570,861
1930	906	81,329	1,085,074

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, May 1931, p. 25.

As regards the immediate causes of strikes, lock-outs and organised ca' canny in Japan, it is generally true to say that they are economic rather than political. At the bottom of most industrial disputes are to be found questions of wages, hours of work, rights of association, discharge allowances, etc.

*Wages.* — Year after year the wages question accounts for a large number of disputes. In 1919, as many as 400 disputes (80 per cent.) arose out of the workers' demand for higher wages. This proportion was, however, very exceptional, and the number of disputes caused by demands for higher wages on the part of the workers decreased steadily after 1919 until, in 1929, it had fallen to 91, or only 16 per cent. of all the disputes in that year. Moreover, of the 91 cases classified roughly as disputes arising from a demand for higher wages, there were only 44 cases in which actual increases of pay were claimed. The rest had different causes, such as demands to restore a formal normal wage-scale which had been temporarily lowered, claims for the extra allowances in the busy season, which it is usual to make but which the employer had discontinued, demands for a higher piece-work rate when the amount of work offered under a new contract had been suddenly diminished.

On the other hand, as the economic depression deepened, opposition to the reduction of wages became more and more a cause of industrial disputes. Whereas in 1919 there were only

17 cases (3 per cent. of all disputes) arising from this cause, in 1929 the number increased to 129 cases (22 per cent.). It is also significant that in 1929 there were as many as 53 disputes originating from claims for payment of wages due. Statistics further show that a certain number of disputes arise every year on the question of the methods of wage payment.

Action on the part of the workers to maintain or even increase rates of wages should not be interpreted as meaning that Japanese workers have shown any signs of abandoning the traditional virtue of moderation in their material demands. Indeed, there have been particular instances of offers on the part of the workers to work for less wages than they had been receiving — no doubt a survival of the feudal spirit in Japanese industry — when the management of an undertaking has been in difficulties owing to the economic depression<sup>1</sup>. In almost all cases, therefore, wages disputes arise from the pressure of hard economic facts.

*Hours of work.* — In the early days of industrial development the Japanese worker was little interested in the question of working hours; the Western conception of time in relation to work was wholly strange to him. But by 1919 industrial evolution had begun to prepare the Japanese worker for the idea of an eight-hour day as a world standard, an ideal which was brought more than ever before to public notice by its inclusion in Part XIII of the Peace Treaties and by the discussions at the Washington Conference. The great strike of 1919 in the Kawasaki Dockyards led to the adoption of the eight-hour day, and from that time strikes demanding a shorter working day (of ten, nine or eight hours) broke out in various parts of Japan.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in May 1922 some 400 workers employed at a Hamamatsu dye factory, which was in financial difficulties, presented to the management a unanimous proposal that their wages should be reduced by 10 per cent., and shortly afterwards 300 operatives of the Tenryugawa Lumber Mill made a similar offer. In June of the same year, some 1,200 workers of the Japan Musical Instrument Manufacturing Company (*Nihon Gakki Kaisha*) of Hamamatsu volunteered to work an extra hour overtime without pay in order to assist the Company to recover from two fires at their works, and a few months later the workers at a safe factory of Otani in Kyoto, a paper mill in Kobe, and also at an iron works near Nagoya voluntarily offered to accept a wage decrease of from 10 to 20 per cent. In another case the workers at a certain knitting works in Nagoya made a proposal to accept a 10 per cent. reduction, but with a view to forestalling the company's announcement of a cut of 20 per cent.

In the first instance, however, the idea of the eight-hour day meant to Japanese workers not so much the strict limitation of hours of work to eight in the day as eight hours as the basis of wage calculation. Agitation for actual limitation of working hours, moreover, diminished gradually as the effects of the financial depression began to bear more heavily on Japanese industry. No doubt owing to the fear of reduced earnings, there was opposition in some cases to the institution of Sunday rest or weekly rest days instead of the one or two rest days a month which had hitherto been the rule. In other cases, workers opposed reductions of hours because they would involve reductions of wages. In February 1922, for example, the dockers of Yokohama objected to the shortening of working hours, demanding on the contrary that regular hours should be worked every day except on Sundays and national holidays. In July of the same year, when the shortening of working hours, accompanied by a reduction in wages, was proposed at a rubber works in Kobe, a dispute occurred. The considerations, no doubt, explain why, whereas there were 20 disputes arising from demands for a shorter working day in 1922, the number in 1929 was only 10, or 2 per cent. of the total number of disputes.

*Collective bargaining and the right of association.* — Since April 1921, when the mining workers at the Ashio Copper Mines struck, claiming among other things the right of collective bargaining, this demand has constantly been put forward by the workers. In May, the month following the Copper Mines strike, another dispute was based on an identical claim, this time by the electricians in Osaka. The question was also the chief cause of forty other disputes in the same year; in 1921, indeed, the question of collective bargaining seemed to be the "focussing point" of labour disputes.

A Japanese writer<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that this was significant, since it was a sign of an important new tendency of the Japanese trade union movement. At the outset when the miners of Ashio and the electricians of Osaka demanded the right of collective bargaining, even their leaders did not seem to have a very clear idea of what it implied. Hitherto in Japanese industries wage agreements — and in point of fact practically all labour agree-

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<sup>1</sup> EIJI YASUI : *Rōdō Undō no Kenkyū* (Study of the Labour Movement), p. 56.



ments — had generally been made individually, and but seldom collectively. The demand for the right of collective bargaining was therefore destined to bring about important changes.

In the second half of the same year, 1921, the question of the institution of works councils or shop committees attracted attention; it would seem that the Whitley Councils set up in England and somewhat similar schemes tried elsewhere during and after the Great War indirectly influenced the demand for works committees in Japan. During a strike at a big shipbuilding yard in Kobe the mediator suggested, and the workers accepted, the institution of a works committee in connection with their demand for the right to collective bargaining, but the employers refused to agree. Although the proposal was not carried out it had a remarkable effect, being followed by some twenty-five disputes on the question of works committees. In Osaka alone, twelve factories, with approximately 15,000 workers, demanded that shop committees or something similar should be set up. The lack of a clear understanding of what shop committees really were and the scope of their action, combined with the difference of conception between employer and workers, soon led, however, to confusion. The results achieved were largely disappointing to the workers, because the councils subsequently set up were generally charged with advising on the promotion of the interests of the undertaking as well as on welfare matters; moreover, decisions of these councils had no binding force— only “moral value”.

“Open recognition” of trade unionism has also occasionally been demanded, though mainly with the object of putting an end to the discharge of workers who are active members of trade unions. Although the actual number of disputes caused by this demand was only 1 per cent. of all disputes in 1929, the discussion of the question led to a general recognition of the need of a definite policy to deal with the situation; in the end it decided the Government to draft the Trade Union Bill.

*Discharge allowances.* — As yet Japanese law contains no provisions regulating the amount of indemnity to be paid to workers in the event of their dismissal<sup>1</sup>. In the absence of any

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<sup>1</sup> As a measure to alleviate the problem of unemployment, the Bureau of Social Affairs has proposed that firms should be recommended to set aside certain sums to provide a fund for discharge allowances, but this has not been embodied in legislation.

explicit requirement in law, a worker not employed for a fixed term may be legally discharged at the convenience of the employer, and without any compensation<sup>1</sup>.

Although the custom of Japanese employers has been to pay, as "discharge allowances", sums of money more or less proportionate to the length of service rendered, there has been no sort of uniformity in the practice. In the past, as long as industry remained on a small scale, permitting the employer to know his own workers personally, his *Ninjo* (humane feelings) was a strong factor in deciding the amount given to discharged workers. The workers, too, out of *Giri* (sense of justice), would usually refrain from disputing with their master over the amount paid. But, with the development of industrialism, the situation changed, especially after the post-war economic depression set in and large factories had to be closed down and workers discharged in considerable numbers with but inadequate discharge allowances. From about 1921, strikes resulting from claims for more adequate discharge allowances became common. Recently, the question has been the main issue every year in about 10 per cent. of all labour disputes.

The scale of allowances demanded by workers in disputes varies, but the way in which the demands are formulated is largely uniform. They demand as a rule a sum of money equivalent to so many days' wages for so many months' or years' service with the undertaking concerned. As regards the results of these strikes, statistics show that, on the average, the workers have obtained nearly 50 per cent. of their demands.

*Other causes of disputes.* — Among other demands of the workers are those for better facilities for recreation and education, improvement of factory accommodation such as provision of bathrooms, reduced prices for the daily necessities sold by the works stores, management of workers' dwellings, improved health arrangements, adequate provision for the prevention of fire, etc.

A still more important cause of disputes is the taking of objection to foremen or other persons in positions of supervision.

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<sup>1</sup> The law provides that, in the case of an employment contract for an indefinite period, two weeks notice to terminate the contract must be given by either party (Civil Code, section 627).

Such disputes, which are of psychological rather than economic or political origin, are reported to be more common in factories where more women than men are employed. Recently a new development has taken place, as the workers have begun to realise the futility of disputes merely on the ground of objections to the persons of supervising staff. They are now occasionally demanding the right to elect their foremen.

### *Frequency of Disputes in Various Industries*

The effect of fluctuating economic conditions on industrial relationships is most visible in the Japanese industries which expanded abnormally during the Great War and underwent a sudden shrinkage after it. The metal industries and those manufacturing machinery had from 1918-1922 an annual average of 49 disputes, i.e. 14 per cent. of the total for the year. No other industry reached this number, the textile and chemical industries coming next with an annual average of 35 disputes, or 10 per cent. From 1923 to 1929, the textile industries headed the list with an annual average of 92 disputes, or 23 per cent., while the industries manufacturing machinery and tools showed an average of 78 cases per annum, or 20 per cent. of the total number of disputes. The gradual awakening of the young women employed in textile mills to interest in their working conditions is held to account for the high rate of textile disputes, together with the acute fluctuations which this industry underwent in this seven-year period. In 1929 the manufacture of machinery and tools, which relatively has not a large number of workers, had 141 disputes, or 24 per cent. of the total. The "miscellaneous industries" had 114 disputes, or 20 per cent., the chemical industry 100, or 17 per cent., and textiles 87, or 15 per cent.

The number of disputes in the mining industry has been generally small. This is considered to be the result of the survival of the guild system<sup>1</sup>, and of the feudal relationship of *oya-bun* and *ko-bun*<sup>2</sup>. However, although strikes are rare in the mines, such strikes as have occurred have been serious<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, Part II, Chapter III, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Oya-bun* means literally "parental share" as does *oyakata*, and *ko-bun* or "child's share" has practically the same meaning as *de-shr.*

<sup>3</sup> Reference has already been made to the despatch of troops in connection with miners' strikes at the Ashio and the Besshi mines in 1907

Recently strikes of transport workers (particularly tramway workers) have begun to arouse public attention and anxiety owing to their tendency to increase. The annual average of transport strikes was 38 in the seven-year period 1923-1929, or 10 per cent. of all disputes, a small number considering the extent to which the transport workers are organised in trade unions<sup>1</sup>. Because of the inconvenience a tramway strike causes to the public it usually fails disastrously, and is resented by the community at large. The Tokyo tram conductors' strikes in 1920 and 1930 are examples of this and also the great strike of tramway workers at Osaka in 1924<sup>2</sup>.

### *Influence of Trade Unions on Labour Disputes*

Because the essential aim of a trade union is to improve the conditions of work of its members, it does not follow necessarily that disputes become more frequent in proportion to the number of workers organised in trade unions. On the contrary, Japanese experience has been that the number of disputes tends to fall when trade unions in any branch of industry have matured, because they begin then to maintain order and discipline among the members. Usually disputes occur more often when the trade unions are either in the early formative period or are split up into petty and rival unions which have little control over the members. There are many instances to support this conclusion.

For example, 1924 was a year when trade unionism began to be officially recognised, having been granted the right of nominating the workers' delegate and advisers to attend the International Labour Conference. There was a sudden and unprecedented increase of membership of more than 100,000 within

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<sup>1</sup> The Labour Disputes Conciliation Act of 1926 provides that disputes in public utility undertakings such as railways or tramways may be brought under compulsory conciliation.

<sup>2</sup> At the 1924 strike in Osaka which involved over 4,000 workers, the public (including newspapers, young men's associations, local associations of reserve soldiers, etc.) was against the strikers, and volunteers offered to operate the tramway system. The strikers withdrew to a holy Buddhist precinct of the Koya mountain, a distance of several hours from the city to further their plans, but they failed completely, and finally had to yield while the union which had called the strike was "dissolved by way of apology to the citizens of Osaka for having caused them inconvenience by the strike." Cf. *Rōdō Nenkan* (Labour Year Book), 1925 edition, pp. 128-130.

a year. The percentage of the disputes in which trade unions participated in 1924 was 47 per cent., but the increase in the rate of union participation in disputes over the previous year was only 8 per cent., while in 1923 the percentage of the disputes in which trade unions participated had increased by 14 per cent. over the figure for 1922. The percentage of trade union participation in labour disputes was highest in 1926 with the figure of 71 per cent., but that was precisely a year of chaotic conditions in the trade union world. The General Federation of Labour was split for the second time and in that year the centre body, the Alliance of Japanese Trade Unions, was formed<sup>1</sup>. In the absence of any strong discipline imposed by the central federation, the local unions were easily drawn into disputes.

The control of the local strikes by the central body began in July 1921 when the Tokyo Federation affiliated to the General Federation of Labour adopted a resolution at its congress to the effect that as far as possible in calling a strike any affiliated unions should consult the headquarters of the Federation previously. In November of the same year the Osaka Federation adopted the "Rules concerning Strikes", with the view to controlling their organisation. This was the first time in the history of Japanese trade unionism that a trade union laid down definite rules in order to impose on its members strict discipline regarding labour disputes.

A remarkable instance of actual control by the central federation over the members in a dispute occurred in 1928. During the seamen's strike in the late spring, the Japan Seamen's Union issued orders forbidding the members to commit any reckless or disorderly act (the strike took place only after authorisation from headquarters). The seamen working on ferry boats or in similar services were strictly prohibited from joining in the strike unless it was certain that there was an alternative means of transport by land in the locality, and that the stoppage of work by the seamen would not cause any serious inconvenience to the public.

The proportion of the disputes in which trade unions have participated has certainly been on the increase in the past seven or eight years, but it is not as high as in some other industrial

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp. 102 and 111.

States. For example, in 1929 there were only 362 such cases, representing 62 per cent. of all the disputes in that year.

### *Tactics in the Conduct of Disputes*

During the last ten or fifteen years the methods used in labour disputes have ceased to be improvised. Strikes are deliberately and systematically planned and those methods used which are thought to be the most effective means of gaining success. Although the tactics now in use are mostly of foreign origin as is shown by the words used<sup>1</sup>, there are others which have developed in Japan, and reflect the social customs, religion, and other special circumstances of the country.

Since the system of "strike benefits" has not developed as yet to any wide extent (although certain big federations of workers' unions are known to possess a "disputes fund") the financial question becomes a serious one both for the union in charge of the dispute and for the workers involved in it. In order to meet this difficulty, when a dispute is prolonged, the workers are sometimes sent out as pedlars carrying a sign that they are on strike and selling articles of daily necessity such as combs, toothbrushes, soap, towels, etc. This scheme has been found to serve the double purpose of publicity and finance.

Recently, nearly all the leading trade union federations in this country have set up a *disputes department* at their headquarters. The department is under the direction of the most able of the leaders of the federation and endeavours to control or guide the disputes. The "Strike Regulations", when such exist<sup>2</sup>, are enforced by the disputes department or else by the headquarters of the union in charge of the dispute. In order to prevent their members from returning to work, the unions usually institute in addition to picketing, a daily *roll-call* of the strikers at a fixed hour and place. Each worker participating in

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<sup>1</sup> The original English word "strike" is widely used, as are such words as "lock-out" and "picketing". The vocabulary of the working class also contains words of foreign origin, abbreviated in a peculiar Japanese way, like *demo* for demonstration, *jene-suto* for general strike, *aji* for agitation, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Both the Osaka Federation and the Western Federation affiliated to the General Federation of Labour adopted Strike Regulations in 1921. Other unions have adopted such rules more recently.

a strike is required to come in person and set his seal<sup>1</sup> on the attendance book below his own name. In extreme cases, attempts have been made to enforce the attendance by fining absent members<sup>2</sup>.

For any important measures to be taken in strikes the previous consent of the members is usually obtained. For instance, it is understood that there was a referendum of the workers before the extensive ca' canny of 1919 at the Kawasaki Ship-building Yards.

A usual form of demonstration (*demo*) in Japan is the street procession. Such processions are organised with a previous notice to the police and the latter may prohibit the demonstration if carried out without notice or when disorder is feared<sup>3</sup>. However, ingenious schemes have been devised to escape police intervention in demonstrations. The resorting to Shinto shrines ostensibly to pray for a speedy settlement of the dispute is one of them. In 1921, when the workers at the Kawasaki Dockyards struck, the strikers carried out a demonstration by this means for three consecutive days, selecting purposely two shrines located at the remotest parts of the city so as to necessitate a long procession in going from one to the other. The demonstration was carried out undisturbed by the police, but as the workers were ultimately defeated in this dispute, it was thought that the gods were wrath at the profanity and disingenuous motives of the ceremony.

The funeral procession is another form of demonstration. An example of this occurred also during the strike of dockyard workers in 1921 on the occasion of the burial of one of the strikers killed in a riot. A long procession of men bearing a

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<sup>1</sup> In Japan, the use of the seal, which is affixed usually with vermilion ink, is the custom. It is required for legal documents; a mere signature is not sufficient.

<sup>2</sup> At a strike in Kobe in 1921 the fines were of varying amounts, 50 sen and 1 yen according to the rank of the worker, and at another strike in Yokohama, 30 per cent. of the daily wages were to be charged. But it is stated that these were not actually imposed because the enforcing of a stoppage of work used to be a criminal offence according to the Public Peace Police Act.

<sup>3</sup> The singing of revolutionary songs, making unnecessary noise, using unusual instruments such as bugles, shells, bells, etc., are prohibited. Demonstrations to welcome the release of a worker imprisoned for some offence in connection with a labour dispute have occasionally been dissolved owing to the disturbance created.

hundred and fifty banners went to the burial ground<sup>1</sup>, where speeches were delivered by prominent labour leaders such as Bunji Suzuki and the men shouted three *Banzai*'s in order to cheer the spirit of the deceased<sup>2</sup>.

When the dispute is prolonged, the morale of the workers is apt to break down, and in order to prevent this, various amusing games, all having relation to the end in view, are devised. Although some of the instances given may not be either general or typical, this description of the tactics employed in labour disputes illustrates the new spirit of the workers of Japan.

### *Results of Disputes*

Reference has already been made to the decreasing number of disputes settled by negotiations between the parties and without the declaration of a strike or lock-out. This tendency is to some extent explicable by the increased power of trade union organisations and the greater precision and moderation of the demands put forward by the workers now as compared with ten years ago. Having secured more complete control over their members the unions are often in a position either to obtain satisfaction without engaging in a dispute or, if the decision is once taken to declare a strike, to carry it through. Generally speaking, the trade unions are more solidly organised financially and their tactics have become at once more subtle and effective. The same argument applies, though perhaps in a lesser degree, to employers' organisations. Another influence against settlement by negotiation has been the continued economic depression, for in times of depression employers are less affected by stoppage; resulting from labour disputes than in periods of good trade.

Table XVII shows the decreasing proportion of cases of compromise over a period of ten years as also the rise in the number of disputes settled in the workers' favour during this period. If

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<sup>1</sup> The so-called "Union funeral" or "Socialist funeral" has become popular, one was staged at the burial of Sakae Osugi, the anarchist leader killed in 1923.

<sup>2</sup> A curious spectacular demonstration took place during a strike near Tokyo in 1930. A worker climbed up to the top of a high chimney of the factory where the strike was on and remained there exposed to the rain and cold winds, for several days till the dispute was settled. Thousands of spectators flocked to see this so-called "chimney-man" and it is said that this sensational demonstration served effectively to hasten a settlement in the workers' favour.



the situation in 1929 is compared with that in 1919 it will be apparent how great the change has been.

TABLE XVII. — RESULTS OF LABOUR DISPUTES, 1919-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Workers' demands granted		Workers' demands rejected		Compromise		Results unknown		Total
	Number of cases	Per-centage	Number of cases	Per-centage	Number of cases	Per-centage	Number of cases	Per-centage	
1919	63	13	173	35	261	52	—	—	497
1920	39	14	100	35	143	51	—	—	282
1921	23	9	81	32	140	57	2	1	246
1922	40	16	103	41	107	43	—	—	250
1923	38	14	110	41	120	44	2	1	270
1924	66	20	132	40	135	40	—	—	333
1925	52	18	127	43	114	39	—	—	293
1926	139	28	193	39	161	33	2	—	495
1927	109	28	148	39	119	31	7	2	383
1928	95	24	161	41	132	33	7	1	397
1929	167	29	211	37	187	32	11	2	576

<sup>1</sup> K. HASEGAWA, *op. cit.*, p. 19

### *Infringement of Law during Labour Disputes*

The foregoing pages have shown that on several occasions there has been armed intervention to restore order during industrial disputes. Such cases have been rare, but minor infringements of law during labour disputes were frequent, particularly during the war and immediate post-war periods.

The nature of the laws in force must, of course, be taken into account in relation to the question of offences committed during labour disputes<sup>1</sup>, and also the degree of leniency or severity of the authorities in applying the laws. The legal situation

<sup>1</sup> The excitable nature of the Japanese worker is another factor. Mr. Bunji Suzuki wrote nearly twenty years ago that "many Japanese workers are extremely emotional and rash. . . . They get excited as suddenly as they cool down. The fact that strikes in Japan are started abruptly on trifling grounds and die out also very quickly is an eloquent demonstration of such a psychology of the Japanese worker". They are, he says, apt to commit desperate acts precisely because of "their disregard of material interest when moved by emotion" and their "high sensitiveness concerning their honour". Cf. BUNJI SUZUKI, *Nihon no Rōdō Mondai* (The Labour Problem in Japan), pp. 96-105; also J. P. SUNDERLAND: *Rising Japan*, pp. 5-6.

in Japan is that there is no law which prohibits or penalises labour disputes as such. On the contrary, the legality of stoppages of work by strikes or lock-outs is implicitly recognised in the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act. Strikes, lock-outs, ca' canny and picketing are all lawful acts of the parties concerned. Moreover, there do not appear to have been any cases in which trade unions have been sued by civil procedure for damages caused to an employer by a labour dispute.

The infringements of the law which have occurred up to the present have been violations of general legal provisions for the maintenance of peace and order. Many if not most of these offences in the past were breaches of the *Public Peace Police Act*. Until 1926, when sections 17 and 30 were repealed, action either by an employer or by workers to "induce" or "incite" others to stop work or to refuse employment in connection with a labour dispute constituted a crime<sup>1</sup>. Since the repeal of those sections, freedom of action in labour disputes has been somewhat extended, and cases of infringement of the law are less frequent.

Certain sections of the new *Labour Disputes Conciliation Act* still restrict the scope of action of both employers and workers, pending the conclusion of the legally prescribed conciliation procedure, if the dispute occurs in a public utility undertaking<sup>2</sup>. This Act largely reproduces the terms of the repealed section 17 of the *Public Peace Police Act*, but it is obvious that the object of the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act is to ensure a just and satisfactory conclusion of the legally prescribed conciliation procedure, by preventing unnecessary disturbances from outside while conciliation is proceeding; the provisions of the Conciliation Act should therefore not be regarded in the same light as the repealed provisions of the Police Act since they are not intended to restrict the freedom of the parties to a dispute.

Apart from the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act, which is really the only Japanese law dealing specifically with labour disputes as such, there are in existing laws numerous provisions which are enforced during labour disputes, and failure to observe

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<sup>1</sup> Statistics show that as long as those sections were in force, there were on an average every year some seventeen cases of offences, involving eighty-two persons. The number of arrests was much greater than the actual cases of conviction. There were 1,166 arrests during the eleven years from 1914 to 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 3, pp. 3-4, sections 19 and 22. Cf. also Part II, Chapter V, pp. 118-123, of this report.

these provisions leads to arrest and to imprisonment or fining of the offenders. For instance, intimidation (involving the threat to injure the life, property, personal freedom or honour of others) by the display of arms or by mass demonstration is an illegal act<sup>1</sup>; to call upon any person at his private house without due cause and to demand an interview with him constitutes also a crime<sup>2</sup>. This last is an offence which is apt to recur frequently during labour disputes as the workers desire to press their demands by seeing the employer even at late hours. The law also prohibits the obstruction of a person's movements by holding him, standing in front of him or annoying him by walking close behind him; these provisions restrict the scope of action of pickets and the workers are apt to violate it in their attempt to prevent the action of strike-breakers.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Act concerning the Punishment of Violent Acts; Act No. 60, dated 10 April 1926. Article 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ordinance for the Punishment of Police Offences; Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 16, dated 29 September 1908.

## CHAPTER II

### EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS

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#### *Importance of Organisations of Capital*

In the first part of this study it was shown how industrial capitalism was set on its feet in the early years of the Meiji era by the State itself and for the State<sup>1</sup>, and how the patronage of the State continued until the Government was satisfied that both industrial capitalism and management could stand alone. The rapid increase of capital in the leading industries and the concentration of wealth in a few hands went on at the same time. The organisations of capital thus built up constitute to-day by far the most powerful social element in Japan, and no important economic policy of the State is likely to be realised unless the role played by these organisations is taken into account. Most of the basic industries of Japan are controlled by a relatively small number of wealthy families, and this concentration has progressively increased<sup>2</sup> until now not only the manufacture of goods but the supply of and trade in raw materials, the shipping trade and banking itself have also been absorbed by some half-a-dozen families. The following examples suggest the size and financial importance of these great industrial companies<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kokka no tamé* (for the State) was the term used to encourage industrialisation ; it was constantly kept before the people as a national ideal.

<sup>2</sup> The rate of concentration noticeably accelerated after the wars with China and Russia and the Great War.

<sup>3</sup> The information in this section, including the amount of the capital behind industrial groups given as examples, has been taken from Kyōcho Kar's *Saikin no Shakai Undo* (Recent Social Movements), 1929. pp. 723-725.

## THE MITSUI COMPANY (UNLIMITED PARTNERSHIP) : CAPITAL 300,000,000 YEN

*Associated Companies :*

	Capital <sup>1</sup> (Yen)
Mitsui Bank . . . . .	100,000,000
Mitsui Bussan Company . . . . .	100,000,000
Mitsui Mining Company . . . . .	100,000,000
Tōshin Warehouse Company . . . . .	15,000,000
Mitsui Trust Company . . . . .	30,000,000
Mitsui Life Insurance Company . . . . .	1,500,000
Wōji Paper Manufacturing Company . . . . .	65,916,000
Hokkai Coal Mines . . . . .	70,000,000
Tōyō Menka Company . . . . .	25,000,000
Nihon Steel Company . . . . .	30,000,000
Shibaura Ironworks . . . . .	20,000,000
Tōyō Rayon Company . . . . .	10,000,000

*Collateral Companies :*

Japan Artificial Manure Company . . . . .	35,000,000
Electro-Chemical Industry . . . . .	35,000,000
Nettai Sangyo (Tropical Industries) . . . . .	6,000,000
Formosan Sugar Company . . . . .	63,000,000
Gunze Paper Manufacturing Company . . . . .	20,666,000
Japan Celluloid Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Kamaishi Mines . . . . .	20,000,000
Kyoritsu Steamer Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Yūbari Railways . . . . .	3,000,000
Kantō Hydraulic Power . . . . .	12,000,000
Hokkai Hydraulic Power . . . . .	31,000,000
Hokkaido Sulphur . . . . .	3,000,000
Japan Coal Mines . . . . .	15,000,000
Kilun Coal Mines . . . . .	10,000,000
Kamioka Hydraulic Power . . . . .	5,000,000

## THE MITSUBISHI COMPANY (LIMITED PARTNERSHIP) : CAPITAL 120,000,000 YEN

*Associated Companies :*

Mitsubishi Bank . . . . .	50,000,000
Mitsubishi Trading Company . . . . .	15,000,000
Mitsubishi Marine Fire Insurance Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Mitsubishi Warehouse Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Mitsubishi Mining Company . . . . .	100,000,000
Mitsubishi Trust Company . . . . .	30,000,000
Mitsubishi Paper Manufacturing Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Mitsubishi Iron Foundry . . . . .	25,000,000
Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Yards . . . . .	50,000,000
Mitsubishi Electric Machines Manufacturing Company . . . . .	15,000,000
Mitsubishi Aeroplane Manufacturing Company . . . . .	5,000,000

*Collateral Companies :*

Japan Raw Silk Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Meiji Life Insurance Company . . . . .	2,000,000
Meiji Fire Insurance Company . . . . .	10,000,000

<sup>1</sup> The figures are for Dec 1928 and show the amounts of nominal capital

	Capital (Yen)
Tokyo Marine Fire Insurance Company . . . . .	30,000,000
Kyodō Shipping Company . . . . .	600,000
Tōyō Weaving Company . . . . .	1,500,000
Kyushu Coal Mining and Steamship Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Ashiberi Coal Mining Railways . . . . .	5,000,000
North Saghalien Mining Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Tung Shan Agricultural Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Tōa Kōgyo Company . . . . .	20,000,000
North Saghalien Petroleum Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Shantung Mining Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Taigen Mining Company . . . . .	2,000,000
Meiji Sugar Manufacturing Company . . . . .	48,000,000
Kirin Beer Company . . . . .	10,800,000
Tōyō Iron Foundry . . . . .	40,000,000
Japan Battery Company . . . . .	3,500,000
Asahi Glass Manufacturing Company . . . . .	12,510,000
Shōkō Glass Manufacturing Company . . . . .	3,000,000
Saghalien Lumber Company . . . . .	510,000
Wakamatsu Harbour Company . . . . .	3,660,000

THE SUMITOMO COMPANY (LIMITED PARTNERSHIP) : CAPITAL 150,000,000 YEN

*Associated Companies :*

Sumitomo Bank . . . . .	70,000,000
Sumitomo Life Insurance Company . . . . .	1,500,000
Sumitomo Warehouse Company . . . . .	15,000,000
Sumitomo Electric Wire Manufacturing Company . . . . .	10,000,000
Sumitomo Copper Works . . . . .	15,000,000
Sumitomo Fertiliser Manufacturing Company . . . . .	3,000,000
Sumitomo Steel Works . . . . .	12,000,000
Sumitomo Trust Company . . . . .	20,000,000
Sumitomo Besshi Copper Mines . . . . .	15,000,000
Sumitomo Building Company . . . . .	6,500,000
Sumitomo Saka Coal Mines . . . . .	2,000,000
Sumitomo Kyushu Coal Mines . . . . .	10,000,000

*Collateral Companies :*

Fujikura Electric Wire Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Osaka North Harbour Company . . . . .	35,000,000
Fusō Marine Insurance Company . . . . .	5,000,000
Japan-American Sheet Glass Company . . . . .	3,000,000
Wakayama Warehouse and Bank . . . . .	500,000
Tomishima Company . . . . .	1,000,000

The development of employers' organisations dealing chiefly with problems of industrial relations has, however, been much less rapid. There has been a growth of organisations of land-owners in order to combat the activity of tenant farmers in agriculture, and, as will be seen below, there are a certain number of "free" and other associations which perform functions in connection with industrial relations; but on the whole Japanese employers' organisations are mainly economic organisations.

*Craft Guilds and the Early Formation of Legal Associations*

Guilds of Japanese merchants, bankers and master craftsmen in various industries existed as far back as six centuries ago under the Ashikaga Shogunate (1338-1573) and their organisations, known as *Nakama*, *Za*, etc., at times wielded great power<sup>1</sup> as creditors of the *daimyos* as well as of the common people; they monopolised various trades and prospered throughout the feudal regime until the downfall of the Tokugawa Shogunate some seventy years ago. These guilds, however, were small and primitive; as the basis of economy was agriculture rather than commerce or industry, merchants and master craftsmen could not develop their powers even if the patronage of the feudal lords favoured the activity of their guilds.

The movement to organise in a more modern form began towards 1880, and the foundation for industrial organisations was laid during the second and third decades of the Meiji era (i.e. 1887-1906), which may be regarded roughly as the period when capitalism took root in Japanese soil. It was in 1878 that the first Chamber of Commerce was set up, and in 1884 that the *Dōgyo Kumiai*, which is a trade association of the lesser merchants and industrialists, was officially recognised by the issue of important Government regulations<sup>2</sup>.

The need of regulation and control began to make itself keenly felt as commerce and industry expanded gradually under the progressive policy of the Meiji Government. Lack of discipline in the new undertakings, and more particularly the absence of co-ordination among them, resulted in careless manufacture, reckless competition, an inferior quality of products and wasteful methods. The Government's action in 1884 was designed to check these evils by encouraging the formation of trade associations, and experience proved that the mutual co-operation of merchants and small industrialists was stimulated by this means; as a result harmful rivalry was mitigated, thus preventing the reck-

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<sup>1</sup> According to some authorities the guild known as *Za* already existed in the days of the Hōjō's (1205-1302), cf. Y. TAKEKOSHI: *Nihon Keizai Shi* (Economic History of Japan), Vol. 1, p. 637.

<sup>2</sup> DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE: *Notification No. 4: Regulations concerning Tea Producers' Associations* (*Chagyo Kumiai Kisoku*), and *Notification No. 37: Standing Rules concerning Trade Associations* (*Dōgyo Kumiai Junsoku*).

less manufacture of inferior goods and promoting the general interest.

A number of important Acts were promulgated in the years following the 1884 regulations; these dealt with the manufacture of *saké*, with production of raw silk, with cattle raising, etc. This legislation culminated in the enactment of the Important Products Trade Associations Act (*Jūyō Bussan Dōgyō Kumiai Hō*) in 1900. Its aims were to encourage the formation of guilds of the lesser producers or manufacturers of any important product and to legalise and control their organisations while giving them some privileges or legal protection. In the same year the Chamber of Commerce Act and the Co-operative Societies Act were promulgated. The noticeable point about all these laws is that they are the expression of a well-defined policy of the State to favour the organisation of industrial and commercial employers, a policy which according to some Japanese critics offers a singular contrast with the attitude taken up by the Japanese Government towards the organisation of workers<sup>1</sup>. There are a large number of such Japanese associations created by specific laws; they are described in Japan as "legal associations".

This policy consistently pursued by the Government undoubtedly served its purpose in that the various trade associations and chambers of commerce which were brought into being by law have not been sterile or useless, but, in spite of the lack of spontaneity<sup>2</sup> in their formation, have continued not only to exist but to thrive under the protection of law.

Since the promulgation of the Important Products Trade Association Act in 1900, the number of trade associations has steadily increased. Under this Act, all persons in the trades specified by the authorities are compelled to join the trade association<sup>3</sup>, except those who have been exempted specially by the competent Minister, and the list of important products has been enlarged each time the Act has been amended<sup>4</sup>.

The lesser industrialists and commercial employers constitute

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<sup>1</sup> Cf *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, p. 725.

<sup>2</sup> The cotton spinners' federations and other numerous manufacturers' organisations which were set up.

<sup>3</sup> The obligation to join becomes effective for all when two-thirds of the persons engaged in the same trade within the same city or county express their desire to form an association.

<sup>4</sup> At present the list only includes important export products. It comprises over 50 articles including practically every important Japanese



the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the membership being on a territorial basis<sup>1</sup> and including all trade and commercial undertakings of secondary importance within a certain area. Formerly they were Chambers of Commerce only, but industry was added by an amendment to the law in 1928, and the qualification for membership and eligibility for election was widened. The Chambers in the six largest cities of Japan have always been consulted by the Government when nominating the employers' delegate and his advisers to the International Labour Conference<sup>2</sup>. At the end of 1929 there were eighty-nine Chambers of Commerce and Industry, twelve local federations and a National Federation of the Chambers in Japan.

The State has conferred upon the Trade Associations and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry special privileges in public law, expressly recognising that the objects of these organisations are in harmony with public interest. But the disadvantage entailed is that on account of the legal restrictions on corporate bodies in public law, the associations with legal personality necessarily lack the freedom which is essential for an employers' association in its action under economic or industrial exigencies<sup>3</sup>.

There are other associations of various trades, all legally created and possessing legal personality, such as Saké Manufacturers' Associations, Forestry Associations, Marine Products Associations, Exports Manufacturers' Associations, Exporters' Asso-

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export. An idea of the rate of progress of the Trade Associations of Important Products may be gained from the following figures :

Year	Number of associations	Number of federations of associations
1901	148	—
1906	422	—
1911	834	—
1916	1,042	48
1921	1,302	60
1926	1,538	71
1927	1,575	78
1928	1,586	77

Cf. *Résumé statistique de l'Empire du Japon*, 45th year, p. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Normally the city (*shi*) is the territorial unit of a Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Under special circumstances a town or a combination of cities, towns and villages may form a unit for setting up a Chamber. Cf. the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Act, section 3.

<sup>2</sup> This suggests that the Government considers the Chambers of Commerce and Industry as "the industrial organisations" most qualified to select the employers' delegate in Japan.

<sup>3</sup> For further details cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Freedom of Association*, Vol. V, Studies and Reports, Series A (Social Conditions). No. 32, pp. 424-428. Geneva, 1930

ciations, and numerous others. Their functions are also exclusively economic.

Lastly, mention should be made of another group of legal associations, known as the Standing Rules Associations (*Junsoku Dōgyō Kumiai*). The difference between these and the associations named above is in legal status. A standing rules association must receive the permission of the Prefectural Governor for its formation, but having no legal personality it is free from many legal limitations. Whether for agriculture, commerce or industry, a standing rules association must for its formation obtain the consent of three-fourths of the persons of the same trade within the same prefecture, but the affiliation of members is merely voluntary. The intention of the Government in issuing the Standing Rules for the associations was simply to legalise the guilds, and the organisations formed in conformity with the Standing Rules have so far carried out economic functions as was originally intended, but they have not acquired much authority as employers' associations in dealing with questions of relationship to the workers.

#### *Free Associations*

A third and important group consists of associations which have been freely organised by the heads of industrial, commercial or other undertakings without legal compulsion of any sort. Some of these organisations, such as the federations of cotton spinners, sugar and paper manufacturers, etc., date from the 'eighties.

While the "legal associations" enjoy certain privileges in virtue of the special legislation which brought them into being, they are subject to rigid administrative supervision by the authorities. Frequently the lack of spontaneity in their origin is found to be a cause of inherent weakness. A "free association" on the contrary is not under any special legal protection, but as a voluntary and spontaneous organisation is able to exercise social or economic functions which are apt to be of greater utility than those of many a "legal association". It also has the advantage of organisation on a national scale.

The free associations are with or without a legal personality; since some of them have preferred to acquire it, while others have not. The associations of the first category have acquired it in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Code as "associations for public benefit". As corporations in private law

they enjoy private rights and are also liable to obligations within the scope of their objects as laid down in their statutes. They may own property in their own name and may become party to a law suit, and they are liable for damages done to others by the directors or their representatives in the performance of their duties. They are subject to administrative supervision in various other ways. Among the free associations possessing legal personality the more representative are: the Electric Association (*Denki Kyokai*), Japan Industrial Club, Federation of Paper Manufacturers, Japan Steel Manufacturers' Association, Japan Fire Insurance Association, Association of Life Insurance Companies, Japan Silk Producers' Association, Osaka Business Men's Association, etc.

The free associations which have preferred not to acquire legal personality cannot legally acquire rights in private law, but they are no less rigidly bound by their respective statutes than are the associations with a legal personality. The more representative of the associations of this category are: the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Japan Wool Industry Association, Federation of Coal-Mine Owners, Federation of Bleaching Powder Manufacturers, Federation of Sugar Manufacturers, Osaka Industrial Society, Japan Economic Federation (*Nihon Keizai Renmei Kai*), etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Kon-wa Kai or "Friendly Talk Societies"*

The foundation of the first free associations was, however, an example that was not immediately followed, and it was not until the advance of trade unionism, the introduction and enforcement of the first labour laws, and later the creation of the International Labour Organisation, that the movement for employers' organisations to deal primarily with industrial relations began to gain force. The passing of the Universal Suffrage Act, followed by a series of internal and external economic difficulties, also gave impetus to the movement.

The associations which then began to be formed were generally called *Kon-wa Kai*, or "Friendly Talk Societies". Perhaps the first of these organisations was the *Kōzan Kon-wa Kai* (Mine-owners' Friendly Talk Society), which was started in 1896.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Freedom of Association*, Vol. V, pp. 429-430. For further details see YOSHIO MORITA, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-158.

Since 1916, when the Factory Act was first applied, similar organisations of factory owners have been organised under such names as *Kōjō Kyokai* (Factory Associations), *Kōgyo Kai* (Industrial Associations), *Kōjō Kon-wa Kai* (Factory Owners' Friendly Talk Society), etc. These associations exist in cities or towns and even the largest of them, so far as factories are concerned, does not extend beyond a prefecture. Some have been organised spontaneously, but a large number owe their origin to the suggestion of the Government authorities; the office of the association is located as a rule at the Police Bureau or Factory Inspection Section of the prefecture or the municipality, as the case may be. Thus, while these associations are legally "free associations" in the sense that they have not been created by any special law, and in fact appear to enjoy considerable freedom of action, they possess practically all the features or characteristics of a body corporate, lacking only legal personality. Their comparative weakness as compared with other free associations is that their field is limited to a city or at most to a prefecture, while most of the recent "free associations" are national in scope. Their objects are: study in common of the Factory Act and other labour laws, relief and protection of unemployed workers; stoppage of all competition to secure operatives; settlement of disputes arising out of questions of management and the taking of joint action concerning workers' welfare, etc.

Under the guidance of the authorities, these organisations of factory or mine owners and managers have spread in almost all the industrial areas of Japan<sup>1</sup>, and they appear to play a useful part as media for the expression of opinion of the smaller employers, as well as instruments for the effective enforcement of labour laws and the realisation of the industrial policies of the State.

### *Concerted Action among Employers*

The inconveniences resulting from the lack of co-ordination and unity among employers have been felt more and more keenly

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. KYOCHO KAI : *Honpō Kō-Kōgyo Kon-wa Kai Gaiyō* (Outline of Friendly Talk Societies in Japanese Factories and Mines). An investigation carried out during 1923-1924 showed that there were 140 societies of this kind spread over 30 prefectures (out of 46) and in Hokkaido, comprising 29,178 individual members, 93 companies, 366 factories or mines and 69 societies

in recent years, but the movement for concerted action on a national scale did not gain impetus until the pressure of questions of labour legislation began to be felt. It was not until November 1926 that the employers in Kyoto, Kobe and Osaka met at the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and organised the *Jitsugyo Kondan Kai* (Industrialists' Friendly Talk Society), an organisation "the object of which is to undertake various studies and investigations in Japanese industries, by federating on a national basis the existing industrial organisations and inviting eventually interested companies or individuals to join". The motive for convening the first meeting was to protest against the model "Rules of Employment" imposed by the Government on factory owners<sup>1</sup>, the complaint being that the model rules imposed on the employers by the Government went farther than the law required and were excessively severe. The meeting was called under the auspices of the Osaka Industrial Society, the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and the "Friendly Talk Society" of the Osaka prefecture, and fifty delegates representing sixteen of the most representative industrial organisations of employers attended. The achievement of the meeting was not so much the "explanation" it obtained from the Director of the Bureau of Social Affairs as the formation of the nucleus of a future national federation of employers.

Another instance of concerted action of employers occurred in 1925 at the time of the printers' strike, twelve large printing companies being concerned. It was in the latter part of November 1925 that a dispute arose between the Nisshin Printing Company and the Kō-yū Club, a union of the left wing belonging to the *Hyogi Kai*<sup>2</sup>. A number of strikes had previously been won in succession by the *Hyogi Kai* unions and, as a result, when the Kō-yū Club presented its demands for a minimum wage scale, increased pay for night work, etc., the printing company felt that unless the matter were dealt with by concerted action among all the establishments in the trade it would have serious repercussions on other printing works. Scarcely more than a week after the demands came from the union, a complete *entente* was reached

<sup>1</sup> The owners of factories where fifty or more persons are normally employed are obliged under an Imperial Ordinance to make Works Regulations and submit them to the Prefectural Governor for approval. Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1, Imperial Ordinance No. 153, dated 5 June 1926, section 27 *quater*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp 102 and 109.

by the twelve companies concerned to act together and to afford each other assistance in the event of a dispute. They agreed, among other things, to maintain a uniform wage scale; that no company should seek to draw custom from other companies; the custom gained by one company as the result of a dispute in the office of another should be restored when the dispute was ended; all competition to secure labour should cease; the workers discharged in a dispute should be blacklisted and excluded from employment by any company belonging to the *entente*<sup>1</sup>; no company should accept a compromise or submit the dispute to arbitration without the consent of at least two-thirds of the others. Withdrawal from or new adhesions to the agreement, amendment of the agreement, and other important matters were also subject to the consent of two-thirds of the members. Moreover, sums of 10,000 yen in the case of the five largest companies and of 2,000 yen in the case of the smaller companies had to be deposited as guarantee, liable to be confiscated in the event of violation of the agreement.

A still more recent and striking case of employers' solidarity was in the seamen's dispute of May 1928. The parties to the dispute were the Japan Shipowners' Association and the Japan Seamen's Union. The shipowners had already been organised nationally, while the union included the bulk of the maritime workers of Japan. A dispute so systematically carried out as this was something unprecedented in Japan, and the experience demonstrated to employers the advantages of organisation<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This attitude of the printing companies is in sharp contradiction with the attitude of employers under the paternalistic system, and may even be a revulsion from it. Many Japanese employers still pay wages to their workers during a strike, and the discharge allowance is usually paid even when discharge arises out of a labour dispute. A large number of strikes are brought to an end every year with the offer of a gift from the employer to the workers of *Kin Ip-Pū* (packet of money) containing a handsome sum.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a list of the leading industrial organisations of employers:

(1) *Organisations including all industries.* — National Federation of Industrial Organisations (*Zenkoku Sangyo Dantai Rengokai*) \*, Japan Economic Federation (*Nihon Keizai Renmeikai*); Trade Associations of Important Products (*Jūyō Bussan Dōgyo Kumiai*).

(2) *Commerce and industry.* — Chambers of Commerce and Industry (*Shō Kō Kaigisho*); Federation of Industrial Societies (*Jitsugyo Kumiai Rengō Kai*).

(3) *Industry.* — Japan Industrial Club (*Nihon Kōgyo Club*) \*; Osaka Industrial Society (*Osaka Kōgyo Kai*) \*; Federation of Printing Companies (*Insatsugyo Renmei* — in Tokyo only) \*; *Kōshin Kai* \*; Friendly Talk Societies (*Kon-wa Kai*) \* of factory owners in various prefectures.

A national organisation of Japanese employers was finally formed on 21 April 1931, when the representatives of forty-two industrial organisations met in Tokyo in order to oppose the Trade Union Bill. The new organisation, which is national in character and the most important federation of employers' associations ever formed in Japan, is called *Zenkoku Sangyo Dantai Rengōkai* (National Federation of Industrial Organisations) and has its headquarters in Tokyo. Employers' associations in Japan proper are divided among five "district federations" of (1) Tokyo, Yokohama and vicinity; (2) Kyoto, Osaka and vicinity; (3) Eastern Japan to the north of Tokyo; (4) the Kyushu district; (5) the Hokkaido district, and through them they are affiliated to the national organisation. According to its statutes, the aims of the Federation are to study and discuss important industrial and economic problems which are of common concern to the industrial organisations throughout the country with a view to concerted decision and action<sup>1</sup>.

The following is a brief account of the more important among other organisations of employers of Japan:

*The Japan Industrial Club (Nihon Kōgyo Club)* was organised in 1917 as an association with legal personality (*Kōeki Hōjin*) "in order to strengthen the relations between industrialists and to promote industry"; its headquarters are in Tokyo. The membership of this

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(4) *Mining*. — Mine Owners' Friendly Talk Societies (*Kozan Kon-wa Kai*); Federation of Coal-Mine Owners (*Sekitan Kōgyō Rengō Kai*) \*.

(5) *Textile trades*. — Japan Cotton Spinners' Association (*Dai Nihon Roseki Rengo Kai*) \*; Japanese Cotton Spinners' Association in China (*Zaika Nihon Bōseki Dōgyō Kai*); Japan Wool Industry Association (*Nihon Yōmō Kōgyō Kai*).

(6) *Electric trades*. — Electric Association (*Denki Kyōkai*).

(7) *Transport, shipping, engineering*. — Japan Shipowners' Association (*Nihon Senshu Kyōkai*) \*; Railway Owners' Association (*Tetsudo Doshi Kai*); Federation of Contractors in Building and Civil Engineering Trades (*Doboku Kenchiku Ukeoigyo Sha Rengō Kai*) \*.

(8) *Shipbuilding*. — Shipbuilders' Friendly Talk Society (*Zosen Kon-wa Kai*); Shipbuilders' Association (*Zōsen Kyōkai*).

(9) *Agriculture*. — Imperial Agricultural Society (*Teikoku Nō Kai*); Japan Landowners' Association (*Nihon Jinushi Kumiai*); Central Association of Silk Trade Associations (*Sanshi Dōgyō Kumiai Chuō Kai*); Japan Silk Trade Association (*Dai Nihon Sanshi Kai*) \*.

The asterisks (\*) indicate organisations which concern themselves directly with labour questions.

<sup>1</sup> At the inauguration of the Federation a board of forty-six directors, including the most representative employers of Japan, was elected. As President of the Federation, Baron Seinosuke Gō (President of the Japanese Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry), and as Advisers, the late Baron T. DAN and Mr. KIMURA, of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi firms respectively, were appointed.

organisation consists of individuals, as well as companies and banks. The latter numbered 1,010 in 1929<sup>1</sup> and the total of their nominal capital exceeded 8,100,000,000 yen, which represents 47 per cent. of the entire capital of companies and banks in Japan<sup>2</sup>. The "Club" developed under the presidency of the late Baron Takuma Dan of the Mitsui firm, and has on its board of directors a score of influential men in the industrial life of the country. Since its establishment it has shown a deep concern with labour legislation and has made representations to the Government at critical moments for or against the revision of the laws, formulating its opinion from the standpoint of industrialists. It has a permanent committee for the study of labour problems, comprising some forty members who are mostly managing directors or presidents of leading companies in such industries as mining, shipping, shipbuilding, electric or hydraulic power, printing, manufacture of paper, cement, textile goods, etc. The Japan Industrial Club "may be considered the central power representing the interests of capital and of industrialists in regard to labour problems"<sup>3</sup>.

The *Nihon Kōgyō* Club has always taken a prominent part in opposing the Trade Union Bill. In the spring of 1930 a conference was held under the Club's auspices for the purpose of organising opposition to the Bill on the ground that it unfairly favoured the workers, violated freedom of contract, relieved the workers of liability for damage caused by labour disputes, and further that it lacked provisions for regulating such disputes. Moreover, the employers' organisations argued that legal recognition of the trade unions would only hamper the industrial development of the country and would thus really injure the working class.

Again, it was at this Club that the intensive campaign against the Bill brought together representatives of forty-two industrial organisations in April 1931 and led to the formation of the National Federation of Industrial Organisations.

The *Japan Cotton Spinners' Association* (*Dai Nihon Bōseki Rengō Kai*) is a general federation of companies in silk throwing, cotton spinning and weaving industries throughout Japan, organised with the object of promoting good relations between members and of safeguarding and extending their common interests. Those who are engaged in the selling or buying of raw cotton, cotton yarn, etc., may also be admitted as "associate members". The membership comprised fifty-nine companies at the end of 1929<sup>4</sup>, operating some 6,359,600<sup>5</sup> spindles and employing 166,700 operatives<sup>6</sup>. The total paid up capital of the member companies exceeds 350,000,000 yen, and the nominal capital of 512,362,000 yen represents 89 per cent. of the total capital of all textile companies in Japan<sup>7</sup>. The headquarters are in Osaka.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kōgyō Nenkan* (Industrial Year Book), 1930 edition, p. 1060.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. YOSHIO MORITA, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, p. 734.

<sup>4</sup> *Monthly Report of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association*, Jan. 1930.

<sup>5</sup> From 1913 to 1930 the percentage of increase of spindles in Japan was 183.91 (*Report of the Director of the International Labour Office*, 1931, First Part, p. 25).

<sup>6</sup> These companies employ at normal times over 180,000 operatives. The diminution in the operating force is due to business depression.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. YOSHIO MORITA, *op. cit.*, p. 43.



Historically as well as at present, the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association is an outstanding body of employers (it was set up in 1882), and unlike most other trades associations it is unassisted by and entirely independent of the Government. The organisation has been very active in endeavouring to promote the common interests of the members in connection with such questions as that of the Indian tariff, the transport cost of Indian cotton, hours of work — especially night work of women — Chinese competition, etc. When the First Session of the International Labour Conference was held in 1919 to deal with the question of hours of work, night work of women and children, etc., which were of vital concern to this Association, it succeeded in securing the nomination of Mr. Sanji Muto, then Managing Director of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company, as the Japanese employers' delegate. Being the organisation employing the largest number of female operatives at night, the question of the suppression of night work of women was of particular concern to this Association and it issued a series of statements explaining the position of Japanese spinners. Although an economic organisation, the Association has always actively opposed any proposed social legislation which was believed to be adverse to industrial interests. The position it took up as regards the Factory Act before its enactment in 1911, and its attitude towards the proposed Trade Union Bill, may be considered as characteristic.

Formerly the shipowners of Japan were loosely organised as *Nihon Senshu Dōmei Kai* (Federation of Japanese Shipowners), but this federation was reorganised into a corporate body under the name of the *Japan Shipowners' Association (Nihon Senshu Kyokai)* in July 1922, with headquarters in Kobe. It may be noted that this reorganisation took place within two years of the holding of the Second (Maritime) Session of the International Labour Conference at Genoa in 1920, and it may be assumed that the decision of the Japanese shipowners to organise this Association was taken partly as a result of the influence of the International Labour Organisation. Over 150 shipping companies, representing nearly 1,000 bottoms and 3,000,000 tons, are at present incorporated as members of this Association. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha ("N.Y.K."), the Osaka Shosen Kaisha ("O.S.K."), and practically all other well-known shipping companies of Japan are among its members, so that it is indisputably the most representative national organisation of Japanese shipowners. At the outset the primary object of this Association was purely "economic", being, as is stated in its constitution, "to promote shipping interests by close co-operation among the members". Circumstances in subsequent years, however, have compelled a gradual change in its character, and it now concerns itself also with questions of industrial relations in the shipping industry. Since the creation of the Joint Maritime Board in Japan this Association has been the sole organisation representing shipowners on the board.

Six local coal-mine owners' associations<sup>1</sup> which between them cover practically all the important coal-fields of Japan are affiliated to the *Federation of Coal-Mine Owners (Sekitan Kōgyō Rengō Kai)*. The Federation was first organised in 1921 and its function was in fact that

<sup>1</sup> The six local bodies affiliated to the Federation are the coal-mine owners' associations of (1) the Chikuho district (including the four provinces of Chikuzen, Chikugo, Buzen and Bungo), (2) Hokkaido, (3) Saga prefecture, (4) Jōban (Hidachi and Iwaki provinces), (5) Ube and (6) Kasuya districts.

of a cartel for regulating the production of coal by restricting output and charging fees for any extra production beyond the agreed maximum limit. The object of the Federation as stated in its constitution is "to promote and co-ordinate the progress of the coal-mining industry and to further good relations among the members". It was this organisation, however, which played the role of the employers' association in mining, and acted on their behalf, when the question of revision of the Mining Act and of the Regulations concerning the employment and accident compensation of miners was widely discussed in Japan shortly after the Federation came into being.

The question of suppression of night work as well as underground work of women and children was of vital concern to the mine owners. The Bureau of Social Affairs had not failed to take this into account when revising the Mining Act and the Regulations, as it had appointed on a commission of enquiry not only the officials connected with the mining inspectorate but also some representatives of this Federation. It was on the basis of the findings of the commission of enquiry that the Act was revised so as to prohibit the night work and underground employment of women and young persons.

Quite apart from this Federation, there is the Society of *Kin-yō Kai* which has as members the responsible men dealing with labour questions in the leading mining establishments or companies in Japan, such as the mines belonging to the Mitsui's, Furukawa's, Mitsubishi's, Kaijima's, Okura's, and others. It is a body for study and consultation on labour legislation and policies; its meetings are held weekly on Fridays, hence the name *Kin-yō Kai* (or Friday Society).

*Osaka Industrial Society (Osaka Kōgyo Kai)*. — The fact that Japan is industrially "bicentric" has some bearing on the country's social and economic problems. One centre is Tokyo and the other Osaka. In a number of ways these two cities vie one with the other.

The Japan Industrial Club stands out as the organisation which most completely represents the employers' and industrialists' interests in Japan, but the fact that it has its headquarters in Tokyo has caused the Osaka element to be somewhat inadequately represented upon it. The Osaka Industrial Society has come to the front in recent years as an active employers' association with Osaka as its centre. The Society is a body corporate composed of the representatives of practically all leading companies and industrial establishments. In 1927 the Society appointed a standing committee for the study of labour problems, and this committee includes men who hold responsible positions in various companies and who take a serious interest in labour questions. As the result of its investigations the Society has published from time to time opinions on current labour or economic problems, especially in regard to labour legislation where the employers' interests are at stake.

The *Kōshin Kai* (or Industrial Friendship Society) was the outcome of an effort among the employers in northern parts of Kyushu to eliminate the ruinous waste among factories in their competition to secure labour — a problem which assumed particularly serious aspects towards 1917 when, in abnormal war-time prosperity, new factories were being rapidly built and manned<sup>1</sup>. At first there were only six

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<sup>1</sup> Another typical organisation of employers seeking to eliminate competition to secure labour for factories was the Federation of Filatures (*Seishi Dōmei*) started in 1902 at Okaya, an important centre of the silk

companies, but within a few years the membership so increased by the affiliation of scores of other companies that at one time there were as many as sixty-seven companies or factories belonging to the Society. Though, strictly speaking, this is only a local organisation for the Kyushu district, the Society may be regarded in the light of its activities as the most typical employers' association negotiating with workers' trade unions.

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industry in the prefecture of Nagano. The Federation undertook to handle *en bloc* all formalities connected with the application for permission to recruit operatives and to transport them from their homes to the factories or *vice versa* on behalf of all affiliated companies, and then to "register" the operatives for the particular companies, the understanding being that once a worker was registered in one company, no other company belonging to the federation should take him at the time of the annual renewal of the employment contract. The advantage to the companies of the system was so obvious that it at once attracted members and the Federation expanded enormously till it consisted, in 1924, of 268 factories, producing 2,500,000 kan of raw silk in total, valued at 312,500,000 yen. More than a third of the raw silk exported from Japan was the product of the companies belonging to the Federation. However, the system of registration, which restricted the workers' freedom of contract as well as that of the employers', was stopped by the authorities. Moreover, there were numerous disputes arising from double contracts resulting from the artificial restriction. The Federation was dissolved under the instructions of the prefectural authorities of Nagano in 1926.

## CHAPTER III

### TRADE UNIONISM

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#### *Origins and Development*

Modern trade unionism did not come into existence in Japan until shortly before the Great War. Craft guilds, some of which still survive, were the only form of craft association known in Japan up to and during the first forty years of the Meiji era. When industrialisation first began to spread in the early period of Meiji small unions were formed, but most of them professed to aim at mutual aid, "development of knowledge and character", social intercourse among the members, and the like. They were also insignificant in size, being limited to a factory, workshop or mine. But even since the war, the progress of Japanese trade unionism has been comparatively slow.

The reasons for this slow growth of trade unionism in Japan have been made clear in previous sections of this report. The country is still primarily agricultural, and the need for combination is not felt in the handicrafts and small-scale home industries which still persist and where relations between employer and worker are personal and intimate. The traditional "family system" is not yet completely broken up either in form or sentiment, and class antagonism has not developed in Japan. Moreover, the law restricting strike action has also had a certain adverse influence on the growth of trade unionism. Another important cause lies in the special conditions of the Japanese textile industry. This is Japan's principal industry, and it was the first to develop on modern lines and to be organised under the factory system with large numbers of workers employed in mechanical processes. The greater number of these workers are young women and girls, and the general disposition of young women to regard industrial employment as temporary — to ter-

minate at marriage — is intensified with these Japanese “textile girls”, for they come from agricultural districts and take up factory work for four or five years at most, with the sole object of earning a marriage dowry; that accomplished, they return to the country. The result has been that the workers in Japan’s most important industry remain “unorganisable” in a trade union sense.

Nevertheless, there have been periods when the Japanese trade union movement seemed to be destined to develop rapidly — for example, during the boom period of the Great War, and after 1919 as the influence of the International Labour Organisation spread in the country. But in recent years the unions have been divided into opposing camps by political ideas, and though their membership has increased their influence on the industrial situation has not developed proportionately.

### *The Older Guilds*

Some of the old guilds were powerful and were well able to safeguard the interests of their members, maintain their technical standards, uphold the dignity of their craftsmanship, and protect them in their relations with their masters and third persons. The Yedo<sup>1</sup> wood sawyers, for example, in the feudal period and for some time after it, had a powerful guild which included master-sawyers, journeymen and apprentices. Every journeyman had to serve first as an apprentice. Wages were regulated according to the price of rice, a *koku* (4.96 bushels) of which was used as the unit of evaluation. Members of the guild could acquire an exclusive right to work in the lumber yard of an employer by payment of a small percentage of the wages of each member. An even more interesting guild, that of the miners<sup>2</sup>, has been described in detail by Sen Katayama<sup>3</sup>. This guild was extensive and thoroughgoing in its organisation. It was on a communal basis and included miners in all kinds of mines and covered the whole of Japan. After a miner had worked for three years the guild issued to him a membership card or scroll, and this membership entitled him to seek work in any mine in the country. The old custom still holds good at the present day, as do also other practices cited by Mr. Katayama. Wherever the

<sup>1</sup> The old name for the city which is now Tokyo.

<sup>2</sup> The guild is called *Tomoko* in Japanese.

<sup>3</sup> S. KATAYAMA : *The Labour Movement in Japan*. Chicago, 1916.

miner goes he is treated as a comrade and a guest by the working miners. He may work, if there is work for him, at any mine, or he may remain in the hope of securing work. If he prefers to try his luck at other places, he receives a sufficient allowance from his fellow-miners to reach the next mine. When age obliges the miner to give up his work, or when he is crippled in some accident, he is authorised by the guild to collect from all the miners throughout the country. Each mine is an independent and self-governing unit of the one great guild. The miner thus authorised in one mine will be permitted by all other mines to collect benefits (which to-day are from one to two thousand yen) according to his standing.

During the feudal period the underground workings were everywhere regarded as the miners' own territory and were under their jurisdiction; only miners were admitted to them. The miners' wages were higher than those of any other workers, and a Japanese idiom, *Kanayama Shotai* (luxurious living), was used to describe their conditions. They had very cordial relations among themselves, addressing each other as "brothers". The single men lived in community.

Stonemasons, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other crafts also had their own guilds, but most of them gradually disappeared when industry was modernised.

*Early Trade Unions: The First Period*  
(1880-1894)<sup>1</sup>

The influence of Western ideas on Japanese society and on the development of industrial relations has been described in previous chapters. It was largely under this influence that the earliest attempts at trade union organisation in Japan were made. The unions formed during this period, however, were short-lived.

It has already been mentioned that the earliest recorded trade union was that organised by the rickshaw-men for the purpose of carrying on the strike of 1883; it did not, however, survive

<sup>1</sup> KATSUMARO AKAMATSU: *Nihon Rōdō Undō Hattatsu Shi* (History of the Development of the Labour Movement in Japan); SUSUMU KOGA: *Saikin Nihon no Rōdō Undō* (Recent Labour Movement in Japan); TATSUJIRO MACHIDA: *Nihon Shakai Hendō Shikan* (History of Social Changes in Japan); etc. For brief accounts written in English, see S. HARADA: *Labour Conditions in Japan*, pp. 181-221; I. AYUSAWA: *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, pp. 84-93; etc.

its leader's imprisonment on a criminal charge. In the following year, 1884, a foreman employed in the Shūyeisha Printing Company of Tokyo organised a union of printers with the warm support of the employer, Teiichi Sakuma<sup>1</sup>, a progressive man and a great friend to the Japanese trade union movement in its early days. This organisation lasted barely two months owing to suspicion and misunderstanding among the members. Five years later, in 1889, another attempt was made to organise the workers of the same printing company; at first successful, this union was disbanded owing to outside opposition. In 1887 there was an abortive effort to form a union by some ironworkers in Tokyo, but it died out owing to lack of interest among the men themselves. In 1889 a more serious attempt was made by the ironworkers, and a union called *Dōmei Shinkō Gumi* was founded, which included the ironworkers in a shipbuilding yard in Ishikawajima, Tokyo, in Army and Navy arsenals, railway bureaus, etc. The objects of this union were conciliation in disputes which might occur between the employers and workers, and the eventual establishment of a factory as a producers' co-operative society. For a time the organisation was popular and prospered, but a rumour that funds had been embezzled led to dissolution, the funds of the union being shared out among the members. Another union, the first union of shoemakers, was formed in 1892 under the name of *Nihon Rōdō Kyokai* (the Japan Labour Association), but this also was shortlived.

*Early Trade Unions · The Second Period*  
(1895-1900)

A notable event of the opening of this period was the transfer to Tokyo of a workers' society formed about 1890 by a group of Japanese in San Francisco. The society included the pioneers of the labour movement, such as Tsunetaro Jo, Fusataro Takano, Hannosuke Sawada, etc. The name of the society, *Shokko Giyū Kai*, which means literally "Society of Workers to Fight for Justice", well illustrates the spirit of its founders. The society was formally organised in Japan in April 1897, when a pamphlet was circulated in a large number of factories in Tokyo and its vicinity, written by men who had first-hand knowledge of the labour problem in the United States and had studied both the theory

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<sup>1</sup> He has been spoken of as the Robert Owen of Japan.

and tactics of the American movement. The form of union it advocated was that of the American Federation of Labour. This movement enlisted almost at once the enthusiastic support of such people as Sen Katayama (the most prominent Japanese Communist living to-day), the late Saburo Shimada (a progressive politician), Teiichi Sakuma, of the Shūyeisha Printing Company, etc., and it resulted finally in the founding in July of the same year of an influential body known as *Rōdō Kumiai Kisei Kai* or the Society for the Formation of Trade Unions. The activities of this Society, which added to its membership such men as Isoo Abe, Chishi Murai, etc., led to the formation of various unions, notable examples being those formed in the period between 1897 and 1899 by the iron workers, printers and locomotive engineers. In 1898 a strike of locomotive engineers was carried out with remarkable discipline, and the engineers were successful, largely owing to the support and advice given by the Society. The Society was giving moral and material aid at the same time to a number of existing unions. The unions of file makers, lithographers, ship's carpenters, doll-makers, etc., in Tokyo continued their existence under the aegis of the Society for the Formation of Trade Unions. In December 1897, the society published the first number of its monthly organ, the *Rōdō Sekai* or "Workers' World", which was the first working-class journal ever issued in Japan. Sen Katayama was the editor in chief.

In 1898 it became known that the Government was drafting a Factory Bill, and the power of the organisation was put to a crucial test. Upon close examination the draft was found to contain a number of provisions which were not considered satisfactory, and the Society tried to secure amendments for the better protection of the factory workers. The proposed factory legislation was, however, not enacted, and the energies of the Society, in common with those of other workers' organisations, were turned to opposing the law called *Chian Keisatsu Hō* (Public Peace Police Act), which contained provisions disadvantageous to trade unions. This Act was promulgated in 1900, in spite of the strong opposition of the workers, and proved fatal both to the Society and the unions formed under its auspices<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The Society for the Formation of Trade Unions had over 5,700 members in 1899, but within a year the organisation died out. The Iron-workers' Union, which had over forty branches with more than



*Early Trade Unions : The Third Period*  
(1900-1912)

From the promulgation of the Police Act till the founding in 1912 of the *Yuai Kai* there was no open trade union activity. Japanese writers on labour questions refer to this decade as *Chin-sen Ki* (period of submersion). It was a period of apparent quiescence, broken only by the riots of 1907. The uprising of miners at the Ashio Copper Mine in February, which has already been mentioned briefly, was the first of these riots. The repeated demands of the miners for higher wages and better treatment remaining unsatisfied, a mob consisting of over 1,200 miners had recourse to violence. They cut electric wires, smashed furniture, threw bombs and destroyed the offices, factory premises and residences attached to the mine, and occupied the warehouses. The local police force was overcome by the rioters, and in the end troops had to be dispatched to restore order. During the same month several hundred workers at a shipbuilding yard in Nagasaki also threatened violence, as did over a thousand miners at a coal mine in Hokkaido in April. Both these outbreaks, however, were suppressed before matters had gone very far. Two months later, however, in June, another serious riot occurred at the Besshi Copper Mine; houses were burned down and a number of the police were either killed or injured. Again violence was only suppressed by the dispatch of troops.

Of trade union action during this period, however, there is only one example, the attempt of a certain Matsusuke Minami to organise miners. He succeeded in Hokkaido, but the riot put an end to his efforts to form a branch of the union at Ashio in 1907.

*Rise of Modern Trade Unions (1912-1919)*

The history of Japanese trade unionism entered upon a new epoch in 1912 when Bunji Suzuki founded the *Yūai Kai* (literally, "Friendly-love Society") at the Unitarian Church in Tokyo. The members at the start numbered only fifteen and included a milkman, three street watermen, three mechanics, two electricians, two *tatami*<sup>1</sup> makers and a painter, in addition to Suzuki himself,

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5,400 members in 1900, and scores of others which had sprung up about the same time, shared the same fate.

<sup>1</sup> *Tatami* is the mat used to cover the floor of all Japanese rooms.

who was then a young university graduate ; he had worked for a short while as a journalist, and had only recently been appointed secretary of the Unitarian Church. None realised in the beginning that this little organisation of working men was destined to play in a short time the leading part in the trade union movement of the country.

At the outset the society was nothing but an institution for workers' education. Its aims were stated in three lines only, as follows :

" We aim to promote friendship and mutual aid.

" We aim to follow common ideals and to develop knowledge, character and skill.

" We aim to improve our status by our common strength and sound methods. "

A very moderate policy was adopted deliberately by the *Yūai Kai* at the outset, in view of the failures of the militant unions in the previous period. It endeavoured to secure the support of influential men and to gain public confidence by enlisting among its advisers well-known scholars<sup>1</sup> and elected to its council eminent authorities on social and labour problems<sup>2</sup>. The prestige of the union, which within a year had enrolled 1,300 members, was suddenly enhanced when the *Yūai Kai* intervened in a strike of phonograph makers at Kawasaki in 1913 and settled the dispute in favour of the strikers. This attracted public attention, being the first experience of a workers' union conducting and settling a dispute. Two years later, in 1914, the *Yūai Kai* succeeded again in settling a dispute at the Tokyo Muslin Spinning Company, with signal advantage for the strikers. Thereafter the membership of the union increased rapidly ; in 1915, it was 10,000 and double that number in 1917. In a short time the *Yūai Kai* set up miners', seamen's and women's departments in addition to the legal service department, which was a special feature of the organisation. Branches of the union were established in rapid succession all over the country, and the membership soon spread even to Korea and Manchuria.

At this stage of development another important union was formed in 1916 among printers, called the *Shin-yū Kai*, (literally, "Faithful Friends Society"). Its origin can be traced back to

<sup>1</sup> For example, Professor Kumazo Kuwada, of the Tokyo Imperial University.

<sup>2</sup> Such as Professors I. Takano, K. Horiye and S. Uchigasaki.

the printers' union formed in 1899 and reorganised in 1907 under the name of *O-Yū Kai*, (literally, "European Friends' Society"). This peculiar name signified that the membership then consisted of typographers for European letters, although the union admitted later all printers without distinction. From the beginning, the *Yūai Kai* and the *Shin-yū Kai* have represented two distinctly opposite tendencies, the former standing for a moderate and "realistic" policy, while the latter has formed the nucleus of the left wing, advocating more militant methods. The stimulus to Japanese foreign trade, which was the result of the Great War, encouraged the growth of these young trade unions. But at the same time the inevitable loss of economic equilibrium was bound to cause social unrest. Wages rose high, but the wage-increase did not always keep pace with the rise of prices of commodities, and towards the end of the war, about the time the Russian Empire collapsed, Japanese workers were seething with unrest. The so-called "rice-riots", which spread like an epidemic, were symptomatic of the social psychology of this period.

The impetus given to the advance of trade unionism in Japan by the economic situation was greatly increased by the founding of the International Labour Organisation in 1919. The knowledge that provision was made for the representation of the workers at the Conference of the Organisation by delegates chosen in agreement with the most representative trade unions, was felt by increasingly wide circles among Japanese workers as a direct challenge to organise. The sharp rise in the number of unions formed before and after the Washington Conference is shown below.

Year	Number of unions formed	Year	Number of unions formed
1912 . . . . .	5	1917 . . . . .	14
1913 . . . . .	6	1918 . . . . .	11
1914 . . . . .	6	1919 . . . . .	71
1915 . . . . .	4	1920 . . . . .	66
1916 . . . . .	13	1921 . . . . .	71

#### *Period of Consolidation (1920-1924)*

When the First Session of the International Labour Conference was called at Washington, the trade union leaders of Japan assumed that the workers' delegate to the Conference would be chosen from among the organised workers in agreement with

the most representative of the workers' organisations<sup>1</sup>. The Government, however, proceeded to select the workers' delegate by a method of "multiple elections" in which the organised workers formed only part of the voters. The adoption of this method resulted in the appointment as delegate of a non-unionist, Mr. Uhei Masumoto, who was the chief engineer of a big shipbuilding yard. This situation was much resented by the trade unions; but the Conference, in view of the official statement made on behalf of the Japanese Government that there were only 30,000 workers organised in trade unions out of a working population of nearly 4,000,000, or hardly 1 per cent. of the total number of workers, and that under these circumstances the Government could not consult only the organised workers, approved the credentials of the Japanese workers' delegate<sup>2</sup>.

The result of the Government's action in regard to the appointment of the Japanese workers' delegate at Washington was to bring about a temporary union of the labour organisations. They regarded the step taken by the Government as hostile to trade unionism and on 1 May of the following year, 1920, trade unions of all shades of opinion united in the first May Day demonstration held in Japan. This demonstration was the occasion for the formation of a loose federation called the *Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei Kai* (literally, "League of Labour Unions"), and comprising the most important unions led either by the *Yūai Kai* or the *Shin-yū Kai*. The federation was, however, short-lived. The views of the leaders of the *Yūai Kai* on the need for centralisation were not shared by other sections and, as no compromise could be reached, the *Yūai Kai* withdrew in 1921 from the league. Shortly before the withdrawal from the *Dōmei Kai*, the *Yūai Kai* adopted a new programme and the name *Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei* (General Federation of Japanese Labour). The organisation is usually referred to by the single word *Sōdōmei*, which means "General Federation".

In spite of the failure of the attempt to unite all the unions in the *Dōmei Kai*, the next five years were characterised by a series

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<sup>1</sup> Article 389, paragraph 3, of the Peace Treaty provides: "The Members undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are the most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Proceedings of the International Labour Conference, First Session, 1919, Washington, D.C., English Edition, pp. 52-53.*

of amalgamations of new unions ; this movement had even begun in 1919 on a less extensive scale when the unions in the western part of Japan were merged with branches of the *Yūai Kai*, and affiliated as the *Kansai Rōdō Kumiai Rengō Kai* (Western Federation of Trade Unions). In 1920, a number of miners' unions were united with the miners' department of the *Yūai Kai* and formed the *Zen-Nihon Kōfu Sōrengōkai* (All-Japan Miners' Federation), and in 1921 the organisations of workers employed in the military arsenals, State iron works and a few other Government undertakings effected a fusion and formed a powerful union called the *Kangyo Rōdō Sōdōmei* (Federation of Workers in State Undertakings). A few months later, an important union of maritime workers came into being when twenty-two out of forty-eight existing small unions of seamen, stewards, trimmers, stokers, etc., amalgamated and joined the former Seamen's Department of the *Sōdōmei* which had just separated from that body. The *Nihon Kaiin Kumiai* (Japan Seamen's Union), which came into existence as the result of this amalgamation, and which absorbed another large seamen's union, the *Kaiyō Tōitsu Kyokai* (Maritime Unity Society), in 1926, made great progress under the leadership of Itaro Narasaki and is now a very strong union.

Agricultural tenancy disputes (*Kosaku Sōgi*) led in 1921 to the formation of the *Nihon Nōmin Kumiai* (Japan Farmers' Union), the leader of which was Motojiro Sugiyama, a Christian Socialist. The union mainly owed its growth, however, to Toyohiko Kagawa, the social reformer. Although, the farmers' movement is now split up into many factions, the Japan Farmers' Union was a union of considerable importance and played a conspicuous part during the four or five years following its organisation.

Another group of organisations, the machinists' and tool-makers' unions, amalgamated in 1922 in the *Kikai Rōdō Rengōkai* (Federation of Mechanics' Unions), and the industrial unrest which characterised this year led in September to an attempt to find a basis for common action by unions of all shades of opinion. For this purpose a meeting was called in Osaka on the initiative of the *Sōdōmei*, the Federation of Mechanics' Unions and the *Dōmei Kai*. Fifty-nine unions sent representatives to the meeting, but the effort at unification failed. During this period, however, trade unions continued to add to their membership, and various amalgamations of unions in kindred trades took

place. It was also in 1922 that the *Kantō Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai* (Eastern Federation of Trade Unions), including numerous unions of varied trades, was established. This Eastern Federation became affiliated to the *Sōdōmei*, following the example of the *Kansai Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai* (Western Federation of Trade Unions). Since the formation of the Eastern Federation, which has been led for many years by Komakichi Matsuoka, the *Sōdōmei* has been in a strong position both in Eastern and Western Japan. Early in 1923, the *Zenkoku Insatsukō Kumiai Rengōkai* (National Federation of Printers' Unions) was formed by the amalgamation of a large number of small unions, including the former *Shin-yū Kai*, and later in the same year, the ironworkers, dyers, electrical engineers and mechanics of the Osaka region combined their small unions and founded the *Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai* (Federation of Trade Unions of Japan).

During this period when there was a movement throughout the country in favour of the federation of small unions, the question of the method of appointing the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference played a considerable part in drawing attention to the need for consolidation and expansion of trade unionism in Japan. For some years following the first International Labour Conference in Washington, the Japanese Government continued to maintain the attitude it took up in 1919, i. e. that a trade union which could be considered really "representative" of the workers was non-existent in Japan. The practical result was that the Japanese workers' delegate was never chosen from nor approved by the Japanese trade unions, and the credentials of the delegates were challenged at successive Sessions of the International Labour Conference, the question raised on each occasion being whether the Japanese Government had appointed the workers' delegate in the manner required by the Peace Treaty. As a result of these yearly protests the International Labour Conference, at its Fifth Session in 1923, after examining the credentials of the Japanese workers' delegate, recommended that in future the Government should appoint the delegate in such a way as would ensure "general satisfaction"<sup>1</sup>. The Japanese Government thereupon decided that the workers' delegate should thenceforward be selected solely on a trade union basis. Only the

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1923*, p. 92.

workers organised in trade unions were to be eligible to take part in the election of the workers' delegate; each thousand members of a union could claim one vote. This decision clearly suggested to the workers that they should organise to secure the right to take part in choosing the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference and his advisers<sup>1</sup>. An active campaign began all over the country either to increase the membership of unions or to reorganise the old unions on a definitely trade union basis to permit them to qualify for participation in the vote. Statistics show that in 1923 the total membership of trade unions in Japan was 125,000 — a maximum reached after forty years' arduous struggle. Within a year or two this membership more than doubled, reaching approximately 254,000 at the end of 1925.

A typical example of the rapid formation of a big federation was the coming into existence of *Kaigun Rōdō Kumiai Renmei* (Federation of Naval Arsenal Workers' Unions) in March 1924. The unions which joined this federation included 43,000 members, chiefly in the naval ports of Yokosuka, Kure, Hiro, Maizuru and Sasebo; it is still one of the most important right wing organisations.

In 1924, 1925 and again in 1930, Bunji Suzuki, President of the *Sōdōmei* was nominated by the Government as workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference, 1924 being the first year that the organised Japanese workers were represented by a labour leader of their own choice. Ever since then the system of election which the Government adopted in 1924 has been followed. Although the Government reserves the right to nominate as the workers' delegate any one of the three candidates who have received the highest number of votes — the appointment being finally made having regard to the nature of the Conference Agenda — in practice the candidate receiving the highest number of votes has always been appointed.

#### *Period of Political Influences (1925-1931)*

During the years following 1925 Japanese trade unions have been more pre-occupied with politics than with the betterment of conditions of work. This may be attributed to two causes: the

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<sup>1</sup> INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, Studies and Reports, Series B. No. 16, p. 93.

introduction of manhood suffrage and the spread of Communism. The leaders have concentrated on the organisation of political parties, obtaining Parliamentary representation, and combating the disruptive influence of Communist propaganda. This influence is said to have been considerable. Even the membership of the General Federation of Japanese Labour (*Sōdōmei*) fell appreciably, and many Japanese unions were split into hostile groups. In the political field, the various attempts made during this period to form a single Labour Party, in view of the first General Election held under the new Manhood Suffrage Act, were unsuccessful. Instead, several "Proletarian Parties" were formed, backed by rival groups of trade unions.

An attempt has, however, been made recently to put an end to internecine strife between the various groups of trade unions by the formation in June 1931 of the Japan Labour Club (*Nihon Rōdō Kurabu*)<sup>1</sup>, a loose federation of the unions of moderate tendency and this "club" was reorganised after a year, in September 1932, into the Japanese Trade Union Congress (*Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Kaigi*) on a more solid basis than hitherto<sup>2</sup>. It is impossible to say at present whether this attempt will be permanently successful, but there is no doubt that the future of Japanese trade unionism depends largely on the possibility of maintaining and developing this organisation.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. XLIV, No. 9, p. 284.



## CHAPTER IV

### TRADE UNIONISM (*continued*)

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#### *Tendencies and Structure of Japanese Trade Unions*

Previous chapters have shown the part played by ideas in the development of workers' organisations in Japan, and the tendency to express divergencies of opinion by the formation of separate unions and federations of unions. Though the prospects of Japanese trade unionism have been altered now by the formation of the Japan Labour Club, individual organisations whether belonging to it or not may still be roughly classified into three groups which, in accordance with the terms current in Japan to indicate their doctrines and methods, will be described in this chapter as Right Wing, Centre, and Left Wing unions. A brief account will first be given of the origin and development of the existing groups, as well as of the formation of the Japan Labour Club, after which their composition will be examined in more detail.

Although, as was seen in the last chapter, there has been some parallel development of Right and Left Wing unions from the beginning of the period of modern trade unionism in Japan, the most representative Centre and Left Wing organisations have been formed as a result of a series of secessions from the *Sōdōmei* (General Federation of Japanese Labour), and it will therefore be convenient to deal with the developments that have taken place in relation to the changes in the *Sōdōmei*.

The process began in 1919, when the *Sōdōmei* (then, and until 1921, still known as the *Yūai Kai*), came under the influence of a number of university men and abandoned its former conciliatory policy for a policy of a more militant character. At a congress held in 1919, it was decided to group

the affiliated unions on a craft instead of a geographical basis, and a programme was adopted in which political demands figure side by side with principles which had recently received international sanction in the Preamble and Article 427 of the Treaty of Versailles<sup>1</sup>.

While this transformation of the *Sōdōmei* into a militant trade union federation organised on more modern lines brought new life and great accession of strength to the Federation, it also reinforced the possibilities of disruption. On the one hand, the intellectual elements did not assimilate entirely with the older elements in the Federation, and on the other the newer members were impatient with the slowness of legal methods. The intellectual leaders were strong enough to decide the Federation to withdraw from the *Dōmei Kai*<sup>2</sup>, when it became evident that continued co-operation with extremist organisations such as the *Shin-yū-Kai* was only possible by the sacrifice of the Federation's principles; but they could not withstand the later pressure of the revolutionary elements and by 1922 they had all been compelled to resign except Bunji Suzuki, who remained Honorary President of the Federation. Some of the intellectual leaders returned to the Federation after the swing to the right which took place in 1923, but most of them finally seceded and founded the Centre group of unions.

It was probably about 1922 that the *Sōdōmei* reached its most leftward position<sup>3</sup>, and it was in that year that the last

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<sup>1</sup> The programme contained the following twenty items: (1) the principle that labour is not a mere commodity or article of commerce; (2) freedom of association; (3) abolition of child labour; (4) establishment of the minimum wage system; (5) equal payment for equal labour of men and women; (6) weekly rest; (7) eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week; (8) abolition of night work; (9) appointment of women inspectors; (10) institution of social insurance; (11) promulgation of arbitration law to settle labour disputes; (12) prevention of unemployment; (13) equal treatment of foreign and national workers; (14) public management and improvement of workers' houses; (15) establishment of accident compensation; (16) improvement of home work; (17) abolition of contract labour; (18) establishment of universal suffrage; (19) revision of the Public Peace Police Act; (20) democratisation of the system of education.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> At the annual congress of 1922, the *Sōdōmei* decided to abandon the demand for universal suffrage in favour of direct action, and the following programme was adopted: (1) promotion of economic welfare and education of members by powerful organisation and a system of mutual aid; (2) unrelenting and effective struggle against the oppression and persecution of the capitalist class; (3) recognition that the interests of the work-

abortive attempt was made to form a national confederation including the *Sōdōmei*, the Federation of Mechanics' Unions, and the remnants of the *Dōmei Kai*. After the earthquake of 1923, however, both the *Sōdōmei* and the Federation of Mechanics' Unions adopted a policy known as *Hōkō Tenkan* or "change of direction", which involved the decision to work for social legislation and to co-operate with the International Labour Organisation. The workers were beginning to realise that theoretical radicalism had not brought them any real gains in labour disputes, and there was a serious shrinkage of trade union membership resulting from dissension between the unions. To the influence exercised by the adoption of manhood suffrage and the official recognition of trade unions as the organisations to be consulted in the choice of the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference two other influences were added. One was the adoption by the Soviet Government of a new economic policy which was regarded as an open admission of the impossibility of a literal application of Communist ideals, and the other was the political success of British workers demonstrated by the formation of a Labour Government.

At the annual congress of the *Sōdōmei* in February 1924, *Hōkō Tenkan* was adopted in a formal resolution by a majority vote. It was a momentous decision, and the *Sōdōmei* has stood by it ever since, holding to social reform by constitutional means and to loyal co-operation with the International Labour Organisation. The following month the Federation of Mechanics' Unions took an identical decision, sacrificing that part of its membership which dissented, for it broke with the Syndicalistic bodies which had exerted a contrary influence within the Federation.

As regards the *Sōdōmei*, the result of the swing to the right was continued discontent among the minority groups, leading in 1925 to secessions on a large scale. The trouble began in the Eastern Federation in September 1924. Five unions seceded from the Eastern Federation, and although for a time they formed a small federation *Kantō Chihō Hyōgi Kai* (Eastern Local Council) directly affiliated to the headquarters of the *Sōdōmei*, their

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ing class and of the capitalist class are incompatible, and determination to work for the complete emancipation of the working class and establishment by trade union action of a new society based on freedom and equality.

leaders were accused of forming part of the Communist group and of plotting to undermine the *Sōdōmei*. The latter decided to dissolve the Council, and the unions federated in the Council forthwith organised the *Kakushin Dōmei* (Reform Alliance) to which the Communist unions rallied; in May 1925 the *Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgi Kai* (Council of Japanese Trade Unions) was formed as an independent national organisation with about thirty local unions and a total membership of 10,778. This defection considerably reduced the membership of the *Sōdōmei*, and after the split only 19,460 members remained faithful to it.

Thence until the end of 1925 there were two hostile groups in the trade movement, the *Sōdōmei* and *Hyōgi Kai*, but early in the following year a Central group, *Rōdō Kumiai Sōrengō* (Confederation of Trade Unions), came into being by a fusion of unions (many of them from the eastern part of Japan) belonging to the Federation of Mechanics' Unions and the remnants of the old *Dōmei Kai* (chiefly from Osaka and Kobe) who had formed a federation of their own. The membership of the *Sōrengō*<sup>1</sup> was not large at first, only some 2,290 in the eastern and 1,360 in the western section, but it won the support of some eminent Socialist leaders, and it was greatly strengthened at the end of 1926 when another Centre union was organised after withdrawing from the *Sōdōmei*. This new union took the name of *Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei* (Alliance of Japanese Trade Unions); its formation put the Centre movement on a more permanent basis. The numerical strength of the *Sōdōmei* and of the *Kumiai Dōmei* in December 1926 was given by the Bureau of Social Affairs as respectively 22,000 and 28,000 members<sup>2</sup>.

It was only to be expected that the *Sōrengō* and the *Kumiai Dōmei* would join forces. This came about in January 1927 when they formed a federation which, however, was so loose in its organisation that its importance as a federation was very small. But the Centre group gained further advantages from another split in the *Sōdōmei* in the autumn of 1929. A group dissenting from the main body of the Western Federation of the *Sōdōmei* formed another union of the Centre group called the *Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Dōmei* (National Trade Union Alliance), thus adding

<sup>1</sup> Figures of the Bureau of Social Affairs, quoted in *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. KYŌCHO KAI: *Saikin No Shakai Undo*, p. 252.

considerably to the strength of the Centre group. These changes were followed by a combination of the *Kumiai Dōmei*, the *Zenkoku Dōmei* and other unions of the Centre, and the result of this combination<sup>1</sup>, which took place formally on 1 June 1930, was the formation of a national organisation, the *Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei*, claiming an aggregate membership of 48,229<sup>2</sup>. This new organisation was in reality a rival to the Right as well as the Left Wing unions, though its principal object was stated to be the union of all trade and labour parties.

More recently, however, the slow progress made in increasing the membership of the trade unions, and the failure of the political parties to secure more than a very few seats in Parliament<sup>3</sup>, has led to further and more successful attempts to achieve a measure of unity. The first move was made in the spring of 1931 by the Centre organisations, the object being to form a national trade union centre. The proposal was well received by the maritime workers' organisations, but did not succeed owing to the abstention of other Right Wing unions<sup>4</sup>. But when, a few months later, the Japan Seamen's Union took the initiative, the support of the leading trade union organisations both of the Centre and the Right Wing was gradually obtained. The *Sōdōmei* at first objected to the proposal on the ground that some organisations likely to be included in the proposed national federation were lacking in discipline and not wholly free from Communist elements. This objection, however, was withdrawn after negotiations among the leaders which culminated in the establishment, at a general meeting held in Kobe on 25 June 1931, of the Japan Labour Club (*Nihon Rōdō Kurabu*)<sup>5</sup>, and this was reorganised, as already mentioned, in September 1932, into the Japanese Trade Union Congress (*Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Kaigi*) on a more permanent basis than hitherto.

The constitution of the Congress repudiates extremist principles and methods and supports the International Labour Organisation; the promotion of labour legislation (introduction of a

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the *Sorengo* did not join the new organisation.

<sup>2</sup> This was the figure reported at the second congress of the Alliance in November 1931 (*Rōdō Jihō*, Nov. 1931, p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> Barely 8 per cent. of the industrial workers of Japan are organised; the "proletarian" political parties won 8 seats at the 1926 election, but at present they hold only 5 seats out of 466.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ind. and Lab. Information*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 13

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 12, Vol. XLIV, No. 9, p. 284

Trade Union Bill, regulation of hours of work, establishment of minimum wages, legal recognition of collective agreements, unemployment measures, etc.) is one of the foremost tasks of the Congress. The new organisation includes eleven trade union federations with an aggregate membership of 280,000, or about 80 per cent of all trade union members in Japan. Therefore it would appear that the Congress, if it is consolidated as a definite and permanent federation, will assume importance as "the most representative organisation of workers" in Japan<sup>1</sup>.

There are, however, still many signs of conflict among member organisations and a considerable effort will be required to place the new organisation upon a sound basis; and for this reason it is felt to be expedient to examine the various organisations, as is done in the following pages, classifying them, for the time being, according to the political tendency they have manifested hitherto.

### *Right Wing Unions*<sup>2</sup>

Of the 354,312 workers (7.5 per cent. of the total number of workers) organised at the end of 1930 in 712 trade unions<sup>3</sup> of all shades of opinion, well over three-quarters were claimed by the Right Wing. Five of the Right Wing unions stand out

<sup>1</sup> The organisations represented at the first meeting in June 1931 and which have continued to co-operate with the Club are the following: General Federation of Japanese Labour (*Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei*), Federation of Workers in State Undertakings (*Kangyo Rōdō Sōdōmei*), Federation of Naval Arsenal Workers' Unions (*Kaigun Rōdō Kumiai Rennei*), Japan Seamen's Union (*Nihon Kaikin Kumiai*), Mercantile Marine Officers' Association (*Kaikin Kyokai*), National Alliance of Trade Unions (*Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei*), Confederation of Japanese Trade Unions (*Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sōrengō*), Japanese Federation of Trade Unions (*Nihon Rōdō Sōrenmei*, formerly the union of workers in Osaka arsenal, Kyoto Electric Company, etc., known as *Jun Kōjō Kai*), Union of Employees of the Tokyo Electric Light Company (*Tōden Jugyōin Kumiai*), Tokyo Gas Workers' Union (*Tokyo Gasukō Kumiai*) and the Federation of Japanese Dockyard Workers' Unions (*Nihon Zōsen Rōdō Rennei*). (Cf. *Ind. and Lab. Information*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 298.)

<sup>2</sup> For this part of the report, more especially in respect of the general situation of the Right and Left Wing unions, the *Kyocho Kai* publication, *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, is the chief source of information.

<sup>3</sup> As compared with the figures at the end of 1929, this shows an increase of eighty-two unions and of 0.7 per cent. in the proportion of organised workers to all workers. There is an increase of over 23,000 in the number of organised workers in spite of the decrease of about 160,000 in the total number of workers during the year. (Report of Bureau of Social Affairs in 1931, quoted in *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. XXXVII, No 12, 22 June 1931, pp. 453-454.)

prominently and used to be known as the "Big Five"<sup>1</sup> These bodies have supported the Social Democratic Party and achieved a certain degree of unity; in particular they have been accustomed to collaborate closely when the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference is chosen. The visit to Japan of Mr. Thomas, the late Director of the International Labour Office at the end of 1928, helped to cement the unity of the "Big Five". A demonstration of welcome was planned by this group in November at a joint meeting at Kobe, at which the *Rōdō Rippō Sokushin Iinkai* (Committee for the Promotion of Labour Legislation) was set up. This Committee held its first meeting at Kobe on the day of Mr. Thomas's arrival, and at a second meeting held ten days later at Tokyo it was decided to form a federation of the five unions, although, in deference to a doubt whether the Federation of Naval Arsenal Workers would be able to obtain the naval authorities' approval of a public declaration of unity, the name of the Committee was provisionally retained to describe the proposed comprehensive federation. The Committee was formally dissolved in April 1932, its continuance being regarded as no longer necessary in view of the formation of the Japan Labour Club.

The following notes give a brief description of the present organisation of the chief Right Wing unions :

*Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei* (General Federation of Japanese Labour). — As now organised, the *Sōdōmei* includes both craft and industrial unions and their local federations; its central offices are at Tokyo. The Federation has departments concerned with disputes, research, organisation of new unions, social questions, women's education, international relations, legal service, technical questions and publication. It holds annual congresses where all matters of importance are discussed. The executive organ of the Federation is its Central Committee, elected each year at the annual congress, consisting of the President of the General Federation, General Secretary, Treasurer and about a dozen other members. Workers' unions with a hundred or more members accepting the principles and programme of the General Federation<sup>2</sup> may be admitted on condition that they pay the fees and

<sup>1</sup> General Federation of Japanese Labour, Japan Seamen's Union, Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, Federation of Workers in State Undertakings, and Federation of Naval Arsenal Workers' Unions

<sup>2</sup> The programme of the General Federation of Japanese Labour now comprises the following eight items : (1) eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week for workers in general, and six-hour day and thirty-six-hour week for mining workers engaged in underground work ; (2) equal pay for equal work ; (3) establishment of minimum wage ; (4) abolition of the system of temporary employment ; (5) abolition of night work ; (6) repeal of the Public Peace Police Act and the Public Peace Preservation Act ; (7) May Day as the national holiday ; (8) nation-wide economic co-operation.

agree to bear the incidental expenditure decided on by the annual congress or the Central Committee. They must pledge themselves not to make any financial claim against the Federation in the event of withdrawal or expulsion. Unions affiliated to the General Federation may form a local federation with the approval of the Central Committee, if their combined membership is at least 500. Local federations may combine and form a *Dōmei Kai* (literally "alliance").

The *Sōdōmei* is divided at present into the Eastern (*Kantō*) and the Western (*Kansai*) Federations. The Eastern Federation consists of the two local federations of Tokyo and of the Kanagawa prefecture (which includes Yokohama) and about nine other small unions. The Western Federation includes the local federations of Osaka, Amagasaki, Chūgoku, Kyushū and Nada and half-a-dozen small unions in Kyoto, Nagoya, as well, all affiliated to the Western Federation. The total membership of the General Federation of Japanese Labour as reported to the 1931 annual congress was 44,219, of whom 35,844 were men and 8,375 women<sup>1</sup>. It was reported at the same congress that the membership was increasing rapidly on account of a campaign started by the Central Committee to raise the membership to 100,000 before the end of 1932.

*Nihon Kaiin Kumiai* (Japan Seamen's Union). — This Union was founded in May 1921, combining twenty-two seamen's unions with the Seamen's Department of the *Yūai Kai*; the initial membership was 50,000. It was the Maritime Session of the International Labour Conference held at Genoa in 1920 which stimulated the many small unions to form a powerful national organisation. The fact that the Conference adopted several important Draft Conventions, Recommendations and Resolutions directly affecting the interests of seamen, brought home to them the urgent need of uniting their forces. The union includes among its members seamen, firemen, stokers, oilers, cooks, stewards and other workers of various descriptions employed on Japanese vessels; it admits any "seaman who has the legal Seamen's Handbook (*Sen-in Techo*) or other certificate corresponding to it, delivered by the authorities". By the merging of the *Kaiyō Tōitsu Kyokai* (Maritime Unity Society) with this union in 1926, the addition of the *Dai Nihon Senpaku Shichū Dōshi Kai* (Japan Ship Stewards' Union) in 1927 and the Amalgamation of the *Yūshi Dōyū Kai* (Union of Stewards on the N. Y. K. Liners)<sup>2</sup> in 1929, the Japan Seamen's Union has become practically the "One Big Union" of Japanese seamen, for it includes over 90 per cent. of all seamen<sup>3</sup>. The headquarters of the union are in Kobe, with branches in almost all important ports and towns.

As in the case of most other Japanese unions, the aims of the organisation are stated to be "to maintain or improve conditions of labour, to establish security of livelihood, to enhance political and

<sup>1</sup> In addition, there are some hundreds of individual members and a few unions — unaffiliated as yet to any local federation — affiliated directly to the headquarters of the *Sōdōmei* (*Rōdō Jihō*, Nov. 1931, p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> There was another small union called the "C.K. Kenkyu Club", consisting of ships' stewards, which was amalgamated with the Japan Seamen's Union at the same time as the *Yūshi Dōyū Kai*.

<sup>3</sup> The rapid growth of this Union may be ascribed in great measure to the efforts of its founder, the late Mr. Itaro Narasaki.



social status of the members and to promote their common welfare" <sup>1</sup>. The Statutes enumerate the objects of the union under nine heads, viz. employment exchanges for seamen; maintenance of seamen's lodging houses; publication of the organs of the union; mutual aid; consumer's co-operative society for the members; watching and enforcing the application of collective agreements; matters relating to labour disputes; promotion of labour legislation; other necessary matters. Few Japanese unions are so solidly organised or as well financed as the Seamen's Union. The employment exchanges maintained in collaboration with the shipowners under the Joint Maritime Board (*Kaiji Kyodō Kai*), as well as the Seamen's Homes maintained by the union, are excellent. The organ of the union, the *Kaiin* (Seamen), is a substantial journal, published monthly.

This union is very alive to the importance of international activities. Mr. Yonekubo <sup>2</sup>, a prominent leader, endeavoured in 1929 to organise periodical meetings of Asiatic labour representatives to the International Labour Conference, and Mr. Kunitaro Hamada <sup>3</sup>, the present President of the union, took the first step of any Japanese workers' union to affiliate with an international trade union secretariat by deciding in 1929 that the Japan Seamen's Union should be linked to the International Transport Workers' Federation. The membership of the Japan Seamen's Union is close upon 92,000 <sup>4</sup>.

*Kaigun Rōdō Kumiai Renmei* (Federation of Naval Arsenal Workers' Unions). — In March 1924 this federation amalgamated the Unions of Naval Arsenal Workers belonging to the arsenals of Yokosuka, Kure, Hiro, Maizuru and Sasebo; the initial membership was 43,000. In addition, two unions of the towns of Tokushima and Hiratsuka later joined the federation. The headquarters are at the naval port of Kure; the present President is Mr. Shigeichi Miyasaki <sup>5</sup>; the membership is about 47,000.

*Kangyo Rōdō Sōdōmei* (Federation of Workers in State Undertakings). — This organisation was founded in March 1921 by federating unions of workers employed at several military arsenals, the State iron foundry at Yawata, Government monopoly bureaux, etc. The membership of the Federation is 16,000; its headquarters are at Osaka.

*Kaiin Kyokai* (Mercantile Marine Officers' Association). — This union was established in March 1907 with headquarters in Kobe. Its members are officers possessing the "certificate of competency"

<sup>1</sup> This phrase has been inserted almost uniformly by Japanese unions since the Government adopted the policy in 1924 of allowing only the workers' unions expressing this aim in their statutes to participate in the election of the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mitsusuke Yonekubo was the Japanese workers' delegate at the Eleventh Session of the International Labour Conference in 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Kunitaro Hamada was the Japanese seamen's delegate at the Thirteenth Session of the International Labour Conference in 1929.

<sup>4</sup> This figure is based on the number of votes recognised by the Government for the union to cast in the election of the workers' delegate to attend the International Labour Conference of 1932 (*Rōdō Jihō*, Jan. 1932, p. 21).

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Shigeichi Miyasaki was adviser to the Japanese workers' delegate at the Twelfth Session of the International Labour Conference in 1929.

(*Kaigi menjō*) and its importance lies in the fact that it is practically the only organisation of mercantile marine officers, including the bulk of them among its membership; it collaborates closely with the Japan Seamen's Union<sup>1</sup>. The managing director of the association is Mr. Jisaku Kanao; the membership is 12,000.

*Other Right Wing unions.* — Among the remaining unions of the Right Wing, perhaps the most important is the *Busō Rōdō Renmei*, a federation established in May 1925 by two trade unions in the shipbuilding yards at Yokohama and Uraga. The origin of the first of these, the *Kōshin Kai* (literally "Workers' Fidelity Society"), may be traced back to a union of the workers in the Yokohama shipbuilding yard which had been formed in 1921 with the help of the *Sōdōmei*. Its object then was to protest against the wholesale discharge of workers carried out to meet armament reduction. In 1924 it sprang into life again with 4,000 new members after a decline resulting from a series of unsuccessful strikes. The Uraga union was originally a branch of the *Yūai Kai*.

The lesser Right Wing unions may be enumerated: *Ashio Dōzan Kōshokufu Kumiai Sōrengō Kai*, a federation of copper mine workers which links up seven small unions of mine workers, all within the Ashio district; the membership is about 3,500. *Rōdō Kumiai Kyōdō Kenkūyū Kai* (literally "Society for the Common Study of Trade Unions"), established at the State ironfoundry at Yawata in June 1920; approximate membership 6,700. There are also small unions of tramway workers in Osaka and Tokyo, gas workers in Tokyo, dockers in Yokohama, dyers of *Yuzen* in Osaka, etc., but owing to dissensions and the withdrawal of the Left Wing elements, their membership is insignificant.

### *Left Wing Unions*<sup>2</sup>

Unions of various shades of opinion are here classed under the heading of Left Wing unions, but strictly speaking they can scarcely be regarded as a homogeneous group, except in so far as they all hold radical views. Some unions are exponents of orthodox Marxism, others have anarchist leanings; they represent many varieties of Communism and Syndicalism. For convenience, they may perhaps best be roughly divided into two groups — Syndicalist and Communist<sup>3</sup>.

The representative Syndicalist body is undoubtedly *Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Jiyū Rengōkai* (literally, "National Free Federation of Trade Unions"). The power of this federation has been on

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Yōjiro Tsuzuki and Mr. Jun-ichi Suzuki, who attended the Eighth and Thirteenth Sessions respectively of the International Labour Conference as advisers to the Japanese seamen's delegate, were officials of this association.

<sup>2</sup> The membership of the unions which are professedly Communist cannot be ascertained owing to the fact that such unions are not legally permitted to exist.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, pp. 258 et seq.

the wane ever since the earthquake of 1923, which for most Japanese trade unions marked the turning point towards parliamentarism. While other unions were regaining their influence by expansion into the political field, the *Jiyū Rengōkai* stuck to the old tactics of direct action with the denial of parliamentary political action — and this had the effect of constant diminution of its membership. A movement to check the diminishing membership was the *Kokushoku Seinen Renmei*, which may be translated “Black Youth League”, launched in 1926, but this expedient was unsuccessful. A section of the union, fearing a total collapse, advocated a change of tactics to meet the changing social situation, but the proposal was the cause of internal disputes and this group has lost so much influence in the Japanese labour movement as to become almost negligible.

The principal unions<sup>1</sup> in the Communist group are those which were federated under the *Hyōgi Kai* until the Government compelled it to dissolve in 1928.

After the dissolution of the *Hyōgi Kai*, one group of its component unions held stubbornly to the principles of the federation; a second altered its tactics, taking the view that the advanced radicalism of the *Hyōgi Kai* was unsuitable for Japanese society as it is to-day; a third group of unions broke up completely. An organising committee<sup>2</sup> set up by the first of these groups sought to reunite the Communist unions by industries, with a view to a single national federation, but, owing to the necessity for carrying on its work secretly, little is known of its activities; the intervention of the authorities before the meeting which it was proposed to hold in Tokyo in July 1928 with the object of forming an Eastern Local Council frustrated its purposes.

The principal federations of the Left Wing unions are briefly described below :

*Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Jiyū Rengōkai* (National Free Federation of Trade Unions). — This federation was formed in May 1926 with an office in Tokyo : it is a decentralised federation, with only a small “liaison committee” (*Renraku Iin*) of four people, to take the place of the usual President and union officials. A large majority of the

<sup>1</sup> The *Nihon Kōtsu Sōrenmei* (literally, “Japanese Confederation of Transit Workers”), the *Nihon Hōkiu Seikatsusha Kumiai Hyōgi Kai* (literally, “Japanese Council of Salaried Workers’ Unions”).

<sup>2</sup> *Zenkoku Tanitsu Rōdō Kumiai Sōrengō Sokushin Kantō Chihō Kyōgikai Junbi Kai* (Organising Committee of an Eastern Local Council for Promotion of a Single National Confederation of Trade Unions).

unions affiliated to the federation are unions of printers ; there are also several small unions of textile workers, mechanics and day labourers, and a union of Korean coolies in Tokyo in the federation. Geographically, the affiliated unions are scattered all over the important cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Yokohama, Okayama, etc., with even a small union in the island of Hokkaido, but numerically the federation is of little importance, the total membership being estimated at about 2,260.

*Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sō-Hyōgi Kai* (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions). — Hardly any detailed information regarding this body is available, though its existence is well-known. The present body is a survival of the old *Hyōgi Kai*, maintained by the organising committee mentioned above. Its members are scattered over the industrial and mining centres of Japan proper, including the island of Hokkaido, but owing to the reduced membership and severe suppression by the authorities, the scope of their action is strictly limited.

Latterly, the *Hyōgi Kai* had been definitely associated with the Third International, and had actively followed a policy of revolutionary syndicalism. Nevertheless, it had tended to give more attention to practical trade unionism, and to leave political action to the *Rōnō Tō*, the political Communist Party. When the *Hyōgi Kai* was ordered to dissolve in April 1928, on the ground that a large majority of its members belonged to the political body, the total membership of the *Hyōgi Kai* was estimated at about 23,000. A movement to revive this body was started in December 1930 at the congress of the *Rono To* and it spread among the unions of wood and metal workers of Osaka, metal workers of Tokyo, dockers of Yokohama, etc. The campaign culminated with the inauguration of the *Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sō-Hyōgi Kai* (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions) in Tokyo on 19 April 1931, at a meeting which was attended by some seventy delegates representing about thirty unions of the extreme Left Wing in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Yokohama, Hokkaido, etc. The membership of the *Sō-Hyōgi Kai* cannot be ascertained, but it was estimated to have about 10,000 members. The most important among the items of the agenda adopted by the congress when the *Sō-Hyōgi Kai* was organised were : opposition to the International Labour Organisation, consolidation of the Left Wing unions and common action with the peasants <sup>1</sup>.

Despite the diminished membership and the limitations placed on its activities, the *Sō-Hyōgi Kai* may be regarded as the mainstay of the Left Wing unions in Japan.

### *Centre Group*

The unions of the Centre group have not gained as much strength and prestige as was generally expected. At first they had a large amount of moral support from intellectuals, but they have not succeeded in attracting sufficient membership to become the dominant force in the Japanese trade union movement. The failure of the *Nihon Shichiu Dōmei* (Japan Stewards League)

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, April 1931, p. 18.

strike in May 1927 and the defeat of Mr. Asoo, leader of the Alliance of Japanese Trade Unions, at the 1928 and 1930 parliamentary elections, may have been contributory causes.

The Centre group has not been consistent in its attitude towards the International Labour Organisation. The chief unions of the group are not fundamentally hostile; they participated in the election of the workers' delegate of Japan to the Tenth and Thirteenth Sessions of the International Labour Conference, although they abstained on other occasions. The principal reason for this abstention, however, was said to be the dissatisfaction of the majority of the unions with the present method of selection of the workers' delegate<sup>1</sup>. In any case, it is interesting to note that since the formation of the Japan Labour Club, including all important unions of the Centre group, not only have they fully participated in the selection of the workers' delegate to attend the International Labour Conference of 1932, but all the advisers to the delegate have been chosen from among the leaders of the Centre group. Below is a brief description of the principal trade union federations of this group:

*Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei* (National Alliance of Trade Unions). — This body, which was first established in December 1926 under the name of *Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei* (Alliance of Japanese Trade Unions), adopted the present name in 1930 when several unions were amalgamated with it. The principles professed by the alliance differ but little from those of the Right Wing unions<sup>2</sup>. Generally speaking, the structure of this and other trade union federations of the Centre group has a close resemblance to that of the *Sōdōmei*, the executive and deliberative bodies, and rules of procedure, being similar and operating in much the same way. There are seventy-one unions belonging to nine federations in the alliance; the total membership reported at the second congress of the alliance in November 1931 was 48,229 including 7,436 women members.

*Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sōrengō* (Confederation of Japanese Trade Unions). — This confederation was founded in January 1926 in Tokyo with Mr. Kozaburo Sakamoto as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee. There are about twenty unions affiliated; these are distributed between three local federations of Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe. The total membership is 13,000.

Besides these two principal federations there is one of ceramic workers in Nagoya, with a membership of some 2,000, and one of cooks in Kobe, with approximately 3,500 members.

<sup>1</sup> The Government took the view that the unions of the Centre group abstained from voting partly because they foresaw that their candidates would have no chance of election (cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Aug. 1929, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 100, for the principles of the *Sōdōmei*.

In addition to these unions of industrial or maritime workers, there are in this country some 4,200 unions of farm-tenants and agricultural labourers with an aggregate membership (at the end of 1930) of about 300,000. As many as 95 per cent. of these unions, however, are only local organisations extending not beyond a few villages or towns. Only two unions are organised on a national basis and active in protecting the rights of farm-tenants, and helping to relieve them from extreme hardship caused by the fall in price of cocoons, rice and other agricultural products, heavy taxes, debts, etc. One is the National Farmers' Union (*Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai*) regarded as of the Left Wing tendency with approximately 50,000 members and the other is the Japan Farmers' Union (*Nihon Nōmin Kumiai*), of the Right Wing, with about 30,000 members.

### *Japanese Trade Unions and Political Action*

In recent years Japanese trade unions have shown increasing interest in the political aspect of labour questions. This does not mean that they have not concerned themselves with such matters as normally come within the sphere of trade union activities. But the tendency to seek the solution of fundamental questions through political action, besides being in accordance with trade union development in other countries, has been reinforced by the inevitable preoccupation of the unions, as far as purely trade union matters are concerned, with questions of organisation and membership. The former Director of Factory Inspection in the Bureau of Social Affairs, Mr. Yoshisaka<sup>1</sup>, has described the Japanese trade union movement as still being "a movement towards the organisation of labour" rather than one founded on the organisation of labour. Until organisation is more complete many questions cannot be raised with any hope of success; with little more than 8 per cent. of workers organised the Japanese unions are not prepared to take up questions which can be easily handled in countries where 60 or 70 per cent. of the workers are organised. The lack of unity also hampers trade union activities in Japan; even on national questions of general interest to labour, such as an unemployment policy and the enactment of a trade union law, counsels are divided, and on the international side there is a sharp division of opinion regarding the attitude to be taken towards the International Labour Organisation.

<sup>1</sup> SHUNZO YOSHISAKA : Introduction to *Zenkoku Rōdō Dantai no Genjō* (Actual Conditions of Labour Organisation in Japan), p. 3; published by Chugai Shakai Tsushin Sha

In these circumstances, much interest has centred on the Labour or "Proletarian" (*Musan Seitō*) Parties. The introduction of manhood suffrage in 1926, which increased the electorate from 3,000,000 to approximately 12,000,000, led both to a considerable increase in the numbers and membership of trade unions and to more intensive political activity<sup>1</sup>.

The initiative to form a national political party was taken by *Nihon Nōmin Kumiai* (Japan Farmers' Union), and this purpose united all Japanese organised labour for several months, although before the party was actually constituted the *Sōdōmei* withdrew as the result of disagreement with the Left Wing. The new party was founded at a meeting held at a Y.M.C.A. hall in Tokyo on 1 December 1925, and was called *Nōmin Rōdō Tō* (the Farmer-Labour Party). Two hours after the meeting, however, the executive members of the party were summoned to the Metropolitan Police Board, and served with a writ by the Home Minister ordering the immediate dissolution of the party<sup>2</sup>.

The action of the Government caused bitter disappointment and a storm of protest and agitation, and efforts were made to reform the party. The reorganisation took place in Osaka on 5 March 1926, the name being altered to *Rōdō Nōmin Tō* or Labour-Farmer Party. In order to escape the fate of the Farmer-Labour Party, the constitution and programme were modified to avoid the appearance of a Communist basis and to show the intention to adopt legal methods.

Meanwhile the *Sōdōmei* decided to found *Shakai Minshu Tō* (Social Democratic Party) on the model of similar parties in Europe. This party was constituted on 5 December 1926 at Tokyo, but the decision to form it led to a secession from the *Sōdōmei* and a rival party, *Nihon Rōnō Tō* (Japan Labour-Farmer Party) was set up a few days later.

In the same year, 1926, still another party had been formed, *Nihon Nōmin Tō*, described as "a farmers' party for farmers".

<sup>1</sup> Before 1925, two attempts had been made to found proletarian political parties. One was formed in May 1901 under the name of Social Democratic Party (*Shakai Minshu Tō*), but it was suppressed immediately; the other, organised in February 1906, was suppressed also after it existed for a year. Both were Socialist parties, the organisers being Professor Abe, Mr. Sen Katayama, Mr. Sakai and others.

<sup>2</sup> Under the provisions of section 8, clause 2, of the Public Peace Police Act, the Home Minister is empowered to prohibit any association if such action is necessary to preserve public order and safety.

These four parties<sup>1</sup>, so closely resembling each other in name, were divided both on questions of doctrine and method and by personal animosities. However, the kaleidoscopic changes, with which the reader is already familiar in the case of the trade unions, soon transformed the political scene. The intervention of the authorities again caused the reorganised Labour-Farmer Party to be dissolved in 1928, and it was replaced by "the Organising Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' League for Political Freedom" with an extreme Communist programme. The assassination of Mr. Senji Yamamoto, one of the leaders<sup>2</sup>, and the arrest of other prominent members, decided the Committee to declare that it would in future act in conformity with the law. This compromise alienated some of the members, but it made possible in November 1929 the resuscitation of the Labour-Farmer Party with the support of the unions federated in the *Kyogi Kai*.

Meanwhile, in July 1928, some members of the dissolved Labour-Farmer Party had formed a small legal party called *Musan Taishu Tō* (Proletarian Masses' Party); and in December this party amalgamated with the Japan Labour-Farmer Party *Nihon Rōnō Tō*, the Japan Farmers' Party (*Nihon Nōmin Tō*) and four local parties to form the *Nihon Taishu Tō* (Japan Masses' Party). This new organisation was a Centre party, but it was soon weakened by secession both to the Right and Left. A split in the *Sōdōmei*, however, led to the formation by dissidents from the Social Democratic Party of the *Zenkoku Minshu Tō* (National People's Party), and in June 1930 this group joined with the Japan Masses' Party to form the *Zenkoku Taishu Tō* (National Masses' Party).

During the first year of its existence the *Zenkoku Taishu Tō* devoted all its energy to trying to unite all the proletarian parties and, for a while, the effort seemed to bear fruit. However, by the end of 1931, the *Shakai Minshu Tō* gradually turned away from it, adopting finally in December 1931, at the Annual Congress of the party, a revised platform which was strongly nationalist<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> (a) Labour-Farmer Party (*Rōdō Nōmin Tō*) : left.

(b) Japan Labour-Farmer Party (*Nihon Rōnō Tō*) : centre.

(c) Social Democratic Party (*Shakai Minshu Tō*) : right

(d) Japan Farmers' Party (*Nihon Nōmin Tō*) : right

<sup>2</sup> A member of Parliament belonging to the former Labour-Farmer Party.

<sup>3</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, Jan. 1932, p. 20.



Only some minor elements of the other party, the resuscitated *Rōnō Tō*, rallied to the *Zenkoku Taishu Tō* which, upon adding the new members changed its title at its congress in July 1931 to *Zenkoku Rōnō Taishu Tō* (National Labour-Farmer Masses' Party)<sup>1</sup>. But this was amalgamated during 1932 with the Social Democratic Party, adopting the new name of *Shakai Taishū Tō* (Socialist Masses Party), while still another party, tending towards fascism, called *Kokka Shakai Tō* (State Socialist Party) came into being. Thus at the end of 1932 there were the following three national parties of Japanese workers :

Labour-Farmer Party (*Rōnō Tō*) : Left Wing.

Socialist Masses Party (*Shakai Taishū Tō*) : Centre.

State Socialist Party (*Kokka Shakai Tō*) : Right Wing.

### *Trade Union Statistics*

Official statistics of Japanese trade unions are published twice yearly in the Labour Gazette (*Rōdō Jihō*) of the Bureau of Social Affairs. The latest figures available<sup>2</sup> show that the total number of Japanese trade unions at the end of June 1931 was 768, with an aggregate total membership of 370,123 (including 10,852 women). As compared with the preceding year (30 June 1930), there was an increase of 118 in the number of unions and 27,744 in the number of members.

The numerical strength of Japanese trade unions has been increasing steadily in recent years with but slight exceptional fluctuations. The setback that took place at the end of 1923 was the result of the great earthquake ; the explanation of the decrease in numbers both of unions and of their membership at the end of 1928 is that, after the arrest of the Communist leaders and the dissolution of some of their organisations, the unions of the Left Wing to a great extent disappeared<sup>3</sup>.

The following table shows the annual increase in Japanese trade unions and their membership :

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, July 1931, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Oct. 1931, pp. 15-16

<sup>3</sup> The causes of the sudden increase in 1924 have already been mentioned.

TABLE XVIII. — ANNUAL GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONS, 1920-1931<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of unions	Membership
1920	273	Uncertain
1921	300	103,412
1922	389	137,381
1923	432	125,551
1924	469	228,278
1925	457	254,262
1926	488	284,739
1927	505	309,493
1928	501	308,900
1929	630	330,985
1930	650	342,379
1931 <sup>1</sup>	768	370,123

<sup>1</sup> Figures for 30 June 1930. Other figures are for 31 December each year.

The membership is concentrated in the chief urban or industrial centres; in the smaller urban or local prefectures the membership is small, only some half-dozen unions out of forty-six (in Fu and Ken) having more than 10,000 members, while save in a dozen or so the local membership is under 1,000.

The next table shows the number of unions classified by main groups of industries.

TABLE XIX. — INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF TRADE UNIONS, 1930<sup>1</sup>

Kind of industry	Number of unions	Membership <sup>2</sup>	Women members
Transport	101	162,771	1,370
Machine and tool	91	92,053	1,322
Textile	45	14,640	4,819
Chemical	77	14,861	959
Gas and electricity	15	9,290	111
Mining	19	6,794	148
Food and drink	25	4,988	58
Building and civil engineering	38	7,330	18
Communication	3	2,046	1
Miscellaneous trades	120	17,929	883
Others	234	37,421	1,163
Total	768	370,123	10,852

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, Oct 1931, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. It has already been pointed out that the reason for the large trade union membership in the transport industry is mainly due to the high proportion of seamen who are organised; it has also been stated earlier in the report why the number of organised workers in the textile industry is almost negligible.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KYŌCHO KAI, *op. cit.*, p. 255, figures supplemented by the statistics reported in the *Rōdō Jihō*, the last number consulted for this purpose being that of October 1931.

Finally, as regards the structure of Japanese trade unions, the following table shows that the majority of the unions are industrial and not craft unions; the membership of the former type of unions is more than ten times that of the latter.

TABLE XX. — STRUCTURAL VARIETIES OF TRADE UNIONS, 1931 <sup>1</sup>

	Unions	Members
Craft unions	150	23,738
Industrial unions	372	309,314
Mixed unions	246	37,071
Total	<u>768</u>	<u>370,123</u>

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, p. 16.

## CHAPTER V

### INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION

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#### *The Labour Disputes Conciliation Act*

The preceding chapters have dealt with labour disputes in industry in the narrow sense of the term, but the spread of disputes in Japan has by no means been confined to industry, for the question of agricultural tenancy has been growing acute for many years. About 1920, disputes in agricultural districts in regard to tenancy conditions assumed such serious dimensions that the Government appointed a special commission to investigate the tenancy system. As the result of a careful enquiry made by this Commission into the nature of the *Kosaku Sōgi* (or agricultural tenancy disputes), a Bill was presented by the Government to the Diet in 1924. The Bill was passed by both Houses without much opposition, and the Tenancy Disputes Conciliation Act came into force on 1 December 1924. This was the first national legislation for the settlement of disputes through conciliation boards <sup>1</sup>.

As the enactment of this law was a matter of urgent necessity, the effects of its enforcement were watched with intense interest by all the people concerned. The experience gained and the measure of success achieved by the legal conciliation of agricultural tenancy disputes were undoubtedly a direct inducement towards legislative action of a similar nature in the industrial sphere. For it was realised that the disastrous consequences of the numerous strikes and lock-outs mentioned in preceding pages might have been avoided had there been adequate means for their early settlement.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. "A New Method of Tenancy Disputes Adjustment in Japan", in *International Labour Review*, March 1925, pp. 381-388.

The initiative in the matter was taken by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Department of the Interior. Although there were press reports that the Bureau had drafted a Bill on the matter as far back as in June 1923, before the experiment of the Tenancy Conciliation Act, the introduction of the Bill into the Diet was delayed by the preliminary examination and revision by the Legislative Bureau of the Cabinet and other organs of the Government. However, the Bill was passed by both Houses of the Diet in the spring of 1926, and the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act was promulgated on 9 April 1926<sup>1</sup> and came into operation on 1 July of the same year<sup>2</sup>. The following is a summary of the main provisions of the Act<sup>3</sup>.

*Field of application.* — Section 1 of the Act runs as follows:

"If a labour dispute occurs in *any of the undertakings specified by the 1st*, the administrative authority may set up a conciliation board in accordance with the request of *any of the parties* concerned. This may also be done if the administrative authority deems it necessary, *even if no request has been made by the parties concerned* . . . If a labour dispute occurs in an undertaking other than those specified in the Act, the administrative authority may set up a conciliation board at the request of both the parties concerned."

The Act specifies in the first instance all important public utility works and State undertakings, including railways, trams, transport by ship for the general public, postal, telegraphic and telephone services ; supply of gas, electricity and water ; other industries either directly connected with the above industries or affecting the daily life of the public in general ; manufacture or repair of munitions and warships under the direct management of the Army or the Navy<sup>4</sup>. The submission of a dispute to a conciliation board is practically compulsory for the utility works and State undertakings enumerated in the Act, the administrative authority being empowered to compel its submission not only at "the request of any one of the parties concerned", but also if the administrative authority itself deems it necessary. This provides a procedure which amounts to compulsory conciliation in the event of a labour dispute in works of vital public interest or in the State industrial services.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 3 (A) (Act No. 57 of 1926).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (C) (Imperial Ordinance No. 197 of 1926).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Y. KITAHARA : *Rōdō Sōgi Chōtei Hō Ron* (Essay on the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act). The author, as an official in the Bureau of Social Affairs, had to do with the drafting of the law. Cf. also "The New Japanese Conciliation Act", in *International Labour Review*, Feb. 1927, pp. 263-271.

<sup>4</sup> These are enumerated in section 1, items (i)-(iv) and (vi) of the first paragraph. Item (v) lays down that the Act applies also to other undertakings directly affecting the daily life of the public, which shall be specified by Imperial Ordinance.

In other industrial undertakings the submission of a dispute to a conciliation board is optional ; the law begins to operate only when the case is submitted at the request of both the parties to the dispute. There is thus a clear distinction between disputes in services judged to affect public interest and those in industry generally.

There is no definition of a "labour dispute" in the Act, but the Bureau of Social Affairs<sup>1</sup> has agreed with authoritative exponents of the Act that a labour dispute "is a collective dispute concerning conditions of work between workers and their own employer or employers". From this it results (a) that a labour dispute, in order to fall within the meaning of the Act, need not go so far as a strike or lock-out; (b) the Act applies only to collective disputes (this is also clear from the constitution of the conciliation boards, which, according to the Act, must consist of three representatives of the workers, three of the employers, and three neutral members); (c) the only disputes covered by the Act are disputes concerning conditions of work such as hours, wages, factory accommodation, etc.; (d) the dispute must be a dispute between workers and their own employers, thus excluding the sympathetic strike; (e) the Act is applicable to a dispute between a farmer and the labourers employed by him concerning wages or other conditions, but tenancy disputes are covered by the Tenancy Disputes Conciliation Act.

*Conciliation boards.* — A conciliation board is appointed by the administrative authority for each dispute in which conciliation is required by the law or may be requested under the Act. Once the administrative authority has confirmed the appointment of the nine<sup>2</sup> persons selected to form a board in conformity with the Act, no person who has been appointed may refuse to serve "without reasonable cause" (section 3). A definite method of selection of the members is laid down in the Act. When the administrative authority proposes to set up a conciliation board to deal with a labour dispute, it must notify the parties concerned (section 2). Upon receipt of this notice, the parties to the dispute must report to the authority within three days the names of the members of the board whom they have chosen and, upon demand of the administrative authority, the names of the three impartial persons selected by the original six members. In either case failure to select and report in a given number of days empowers the administrative authority to appoint the members and those chosen by the administrative authority are then deemed to be the members duly selected by the representatives of the parties to the dispute. Any vacancy on the board is filled by applying, *mutatis mutandis*, the above-mentioned procedure (section 5).

As soon as all the members are duly appointed, the board must be immediately convened by the administrative authority and the work must be begun at once (section 6). The board has a chairman and his deputy (*dairi*) who amounts in fact to a vice-chairman of the Board. In order to ensure the impartiality of these officers, it is required that they should be elected by the impartial members from among their number. Five members make up the quorum of the board, but these five must include two of the members representing one party, two representing the other party, and either the chairman himself or his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō* (Labour Gazette), July 1926, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The representatives of employers and workers chosen by the parties to the dispute select the three impartial persons who complete the Board.

deputy. Decisions are taken by a simple majority vote ; if votes should be equally divided, the chairman has the casting vote. The sittings of the board are secret ; but Government officials connected with the conciliation service may be allowed to attend the sitting with the consent of the board (sections 10-12).

According to section 8 of the Act, a conciliation board is empowered to undertake the investigations and enquiries necessary for the solution of a labour dispute and to bring about a settlement. In order that this function may be carried out satisfactorily and the settlement effected with fairness, a board must be thoroughly informed of the facts of the case. The work of a board can in fact be impartial and effective only if it has access to all relevant information. A board is therefore vested, by the provisions of section 13, with the necessary power " to demand either the attendance for the purpose of explanation of the parties concerned or their representatives, or of other interested persons or referees, or the submission of explanatory documents, in so far as this is necessary for conciliation ". The competence of a board goes even further, as it has the power of inspection. " The board ", according to section 14, " may cause the members of the board to enter the workplace or other places connected with the dispute, watch the work or the operation of the equipment, or question the persons concerned in so far as this is necessary for conciliation ". The only limitation to these powers of a board is set in respect of places where military necessity requires secrecy. The powers of a board are safeguarded by penal provisions. Those who obstruct the exercise of these powers are liable to a fine not exceeding 200 yen. The same penalty applies to any member of a board who divulges secret information obtained in the course of the conciliation procedure (sections 15, 20, 21).

It is incumbent upon a board to complete its work within fifteen days after being set up. This period of conciliation can be extended only with the unanimous approval of the members of a board representing the two parties to the dispute (section 9). A board is required to submit a report of its proceedings to the administrative authority when the conciliation procedure is terminated. Should it fail to settle a given dispute, the report submitted to the administrative authority must show a draft proposal for the conciliation of the dispute which was voted upon by the board as well as the opinion of the dissenting minority on the matter (section 16).

In this connection, there is a very important provision which must not be overlooked. Section 17 of the Act requires that, upon receipt of the report of a conciliation board, the administrative authority " shall publish the gist of the report ", with the proviso that such publication may be withheld only if the dispute has been settled, and if all the members chosen by one of the parties concerned have previously expressed their disapproval of the publication, i.e. if, after a thorough examination and attempt at conciliation by a board a dispute remains unsettled, the public, as well as the authorities, will be informed of the claims of the parties and where the difficulty lies.

This provision has special importance in view of the optional nature of the decisions, for the findings of a conciliation board are not binding on the parties to the dispute, who may accept or reject them ; the findings are in fact recommendations and not awards. The publication of the main points of a board's report, showing the plan of conciliation proposed by that body after fifteen days' careful examination, amounts in effect to an appeal to public opinion.

Section 19 of the Act contains the restrictions which may be

applied as soon as the administrative authority has notified the parties that a conciliation board is to be set up in the case of a dispute in any public utility undertaking or an establishment manufacturing munitions under the management of the Army or the Navy. From the moment the notification is sent until the conclusion of the conciliation procedure, no one other than the employers and workers directly concerned in the dispute, and the officers of the employers' or workers' organisations to which they belong, may instigate or incite either the employers or the workers concerned in the dispute to declare either a lock-out or a strike. The acts explicitly prohibited are : " to instigate or incite either the employers or the workers concerned in the dispute ", in order "(i) to cause the employer to close down the workplace, stop the work, terminate the employment of workers, or refuse a request for the continuation of labour, in connection with the dispute; (ii) to cause a body of workers to stop work, impede the progress of work, terminate their employment or refuse a request for their continuation in employment, in connection with the labour dispute ". Those who contravene any of these provisions are liable to either a fine not exceeding 200 yen or imprisonment not exceeding three months (sections 19, 22).

The importance for Japan of the experiment in regard to the problems of industrial relations represented by the passage of the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act was greatly enhanced by the repeal, as from the date on which the Conciliation Act came into force, of those parts of the Public Peace Police Act which had been alleged to constitute obstacles to the exercise of the right to strike<sup>1</sup>.

It was recognised that to ensure the success of any statutory procedure of conciliation, whether it be compulsory or otherwise, the parties to the dispute must be put on an equal footing. They must be allowed to weigh the advantages of mutual concession or compromise and voluntarily to accept an impartial handling of the case by the conciliation board in preference to continuing the conflict. The Government, in drafting the Conciliation Bill, recognised that if any existing law hindered the free action of either party, it would be prejudicial to the satisfactory operation of the Conciliation Act. Accordingly, the amendment of the Public Peace Police Act was a necessary concomitant to the enactment of the Conciliation Act. While the right to

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<sup>1</sup> Bitter complaints about this Act, and more particularly against sections 17 and 30, had been publicly made on the ground that these provisions fettered the workers when a dispute occurred. The Government decided that any cause of serious complaints in the existing legislation must be completely removed, and submitted to the Diet at its 1925 winter session a Bill to amend the Police Act, together with the Conciliation Bill, the two being presented simultaneously as inseparable parts of a single enactment.



strike is not explicitly recognised in any of the legislation at present in force in Japan, the Prime Minister made the significant statement in the course of the discussion in Parliament of the Conciliation Bill that "the attempt of the workers to carry through their claims by means of strikes is not a matter to be suppressed"<sup>1</sup>. Clearly, then, it was in this spirit that this measure of reform was taken.

*Administrative machinery.* — In May 1926, two months before the Conciliation Act came into force, an Imperial Ordinance<sup>2</sup> was promulgated empowering the Bureau of Social Affairs to deal with matters relating to conciliation in labour disputes. Consequently, as a first step, the former Labour Section of the Bureau was divided into two new Sections, one of which is now in charge of conciliation<sup>3</sup>; it is known as the Labour Service Section (*Rō-mu-Ka*)<sup>4</sup> and has in it a number of "conciliation officers" (*Chōtei Kan*) and "assistant conciliation officers" (*Chōtei-kan-ho*). Similar officers were appointed also in Hokkaido and in practically all urban and local prefectures. In order to give a preparatory training to the conciliation officers, the Bureau of Social Affairs organised a six-day training course in 1926 which conciliation officers, assistant officers, chiefs of the Labour Service, etc., from all the prefectures of Japan and Hokkaido were obliged to attend. Thereafter, conferences of these officers have been convened from time to time by the Bureau in order to render the officials more efficient and to ensure uniformity in the administration of the law. The Bureau of Social Affairs is competent to deal with the matter of conciliation of labour disputes<sup>5</sup>.

*Results of the application of the Act.* — Up to the present the direct results of the application of the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act have been disappointing, for only in two cases has the

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of the Japanese House of Representatives*, Fifty-first Session, No. 14, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 101, dated 11 May 1926

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> This Section deals also with relations with the International Labour Organisation

<sup>5</sup> Important information relating to the subject — legislative, administrative and other — and monthly statistics of labour disputes are published in the Labour Gazette (*Rōdō Jihō*) issued by the Bureau of Social Affairs.

conciliation procedure been formally applied<sup>1</sup>. This fact has given rise to much criticism, and at a Conference of Local Conciliation Officers held in the Bureau of Social Affairs during October 1930 the question of the amendment of the Conciliation Act was the most important item on the agenda. A series of important suggestions was made by the Conference, and, largely in conformity with those suggestions, the Government drafted an amending Bill which was submitted to the Diet at its session early in 1931. The Bill was severely criticised by trade unionists as crippling the activities of labour unions in case of disputes, while the employers were no less dissatisfied with the proposed amendment on account of certain progressive features of the Bill<sup>2</sup>. As the Diet closed before the discussion on the Bill was terminated, the original Act remains unamended and only being rarely applied.

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<sup>1</sup> The first case in which a request was made for a conciliation board to be set up as provided in the Act was a strike involving about a hundred workers at a copper works in Osaka in April-May 1930. The workers were members of the *Sōdōmei*, and the dispute arose from the employers' decision to extend the daily working hours and to adopt one additional holiday per week during a business depression. The workers contended that the change would cause a substantial decrease in weekly earnings, and demanded in addition the establishment of an eight-hour day, recognition of the right of collective bargaining, immediate revision of the works regulations, etc. After the strike had lasted about a month, the parties agreed to make a formal joint request to the authorities for the appointment of a conciliation board. The chief of the Police Board of the Prefecture was among the three neutral members and acted as the Chairman of the Board, and after a week the dispute was amicably settled. The other case happened also in Osaka at an enamel factory in January-March 1931. Procedure similar to the above was followed at the joint request of the parties concerned. The dispute was settled with the agreement that ninety-nine workers might be discharged, but that the Company should then grant them discharge allowances according to the rules of the Company. Moreover, the Company granted a *Kin Ip-Pū* containing 2,500 yen to cover the expenses of the workers during the strike; also the Company agreed to pay half the "basic wages" (according to the Health Insurance Act) to all workers until the factory re-opens. (*Rōdō Jihō*, June 1930, pp. 22-24; March 1931, pp. 21-23.)

<sup>2</sup> The more important provisions of the Bill are the following:

- (1) The authorities are empowered to compel the application of the conciliation procedure even in private undertakings with or without the request of the parties concerned when the dispute is deemed to injure the industry or the public welfare of the district affected.
- (2) If a dispute occurs in a public utility works and if the parties concerned intend to resort to a lock-out or strike, they must request the setting up of a conciliation board within three days before resorting to such lock-out or strike: contravention of this provision is liable to punishment with a fine.
- (3) Even in case of a dispute in private undertakings, if it falls under (1) mentioned above, persons not actually connected with the dispute must not instigate or incite those so connected with the object of causing

Nevertheless, although the Act has not been formally applied, a large number of disputes are said to have been settled by conciliation or mediation "in harmony with the spirit of the law", and its indirect influence has been considerable.

Statistics show that, while earlier disputes were more often settled by direct negotiations between the parties concerned than by the mediation of a third party, recent disputes are tending to be settled by mediation to an increasing extent. Table XXI shows this increase both in the case of disputes leading to a strike or lock-out and in all labour disputes; it is worth remarking that in the graver disputes conciliation methods have been signally successful, and that in the period from 1922 to 1930 the settlements secured by mediation practically trebled.

Before the enactment of the Conciliation Act there were of course cases of conciliation or mediation brought about either by the Government or municipal officials or by private individuals, but after the Conciliation Act was promulgated, a gradual change in the spirit of the people regarding conciliation in disputes has become evident. At first many trade unions were suspicious of conciliation, even if they did not actually oppose recourse to it. It was felt that the Conciliation Act aimed at regulating or controlling disputes and their equitable settlement could not be expected from the conciliation procedure laid down in the Act. Moreover, there was an idea that to ask for conciliation exposed the party which first applied for the procedure to be put in motion to the risk that it might be looked upon as already defeated. Recalling this stage, it is interesting to see that of late more requests for conciliation come from the workers than from the employers. For instance, during 1930, there were ninety requests for conciliation from the workers as against fifty-six from the employers. There were also eighty-six cases of joint requests from the employers and the workers for conciliation<sup>1</sup>. Mediation offered voluntarily before any request is made by the parties concerned is on the increase. The attitude of Government officials, as of police officers, has also undergone a change; in the past they

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the employer to close down the workplace (lock-out), or workers to resort to strikes, until after the conclusion of the conciliation procedure: contravention of this provision is liable to punishment with detention or a fine. (4) A maximum period of ten days has been fixed for the completion of investigations necessary for conciliation. (Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Feb. 1931. p. 4.)

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, Jan. 1932, p. 25.

hesitated to intervene in disputes for fear that their action might be interpreted as unnecessary interference, but since the Conciliation Act came into force they have begun to assume a more positive attitude, recognising that conciliation in labour disputes is after all a part of the State's proper functions. This accounts for the fact that the proportion of cases of conciliation brought about under the initiative of the conciliation officers has steadily increased as compared with the number of cases of conciliation requested by either one or other, or both, of the parties in dispute. According to the observation of the Bureau of Social Affairs, while the parties in dispute do not often openly ask for mediation or conciliation, they are glad to find mediators; some two-thirds of these are conciliation officers or other Government or municipal officials, the remaining third being either private individuals or organisations.

TABLE XXI. — CASES OF DIRECT BARGAINING AND MEDIATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF LABOUR DISPUTES, 1922-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Disputes which had led to strike, lock-out, etc.					All labour disputes				
	Direct bargaining		Mediation		Total	Direct bargaining		Mediation		Total
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	
1922	190	76	60	24	250	507	87	77	13	584
1923	181	67	89	33	270	532	82	117	18	649
1924	201	60	132	40	333	776	83	157	17	933
1925	203	69	90	31	293	696	85	120	15	816
1926	292	59	203	41	495	999	79	261	21	1,260
1927	158	11	225	59	383	851	71	351	29	1,202
1928	221	58	159	40	397	771	76	250	24	1,021
1929	333	58	232	40	576	1,033	73	386	29	1,419
1930	521	58	385	12	906	1,823	64	659	36	2,482

<sup>1</sup> In 1928, two disputes ended before a settlement was reached and five disputes remained unsettled; in 1929, five disputes ended before settlement and six remained unsettled. These cases account for the discrepancies of the total figures (*Rôdô Jihô*, May 1931, pp. 18-26.)

### Works Committees<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to explain the part that may be played by works committees in industrial relations, or their value as conciliation machinery for the adjustment for day-to-day relations between employer and workers. In Japan, works committees have been slowly gaining recognition for some years past.

<sup>1</sup> In preparing this section of the report *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, published by the *Kyôcho Kai*, pp. 521-530, has been used as the chief source of information

Though the majority of the existing works committees date from only about ten years ago, it is on record that in 1900, after a strike, a committee to enable the employer and workers to discuss conditions of work and welfare was set up in a porcelain factory in the Island of Awaji. This committee is still in existence to-day, and in 1924 it amended the rules under which it had been conducted for twenty-four years, providing that the workers' representatives should be elected by the workers instead of being appointed by the management as heretofore.

Further committees were set up in 1908, 1915, 1916, etc., in different parts of Japan (Tokyo, Fukui prefecture, Hokkaido, etc.), but the system did not become popular until after the Great War. In 1919 the Bureau of Social Affairs made a draft of a Works Committees Bill and circulated it among interested people both in the Government and in private concerns. The Bill created a favourable impression generally, and in the following year the Factory Owners' Friendly Talk Society of Tokyo submitted a similar plan to the factory owners, recommending them to consider the creation of works committees in their undertakings. By far the most important step in this direction, however, was taken in 1919 by the State Railways under the presidency of Mr. Tokonami; as a result, works committees among the workers in the employ of the Japanese State Railways began to function in May 1920. An impetus was thus given to the idea of works committees, and, in view of the awakening of general interest in the matter, the *Kyocho Kai*<sup>1</sup> drafted another Works Committee Bill and submitted it to the Department of the Interior and of Agriculture and Commerce for their consideration. The Osaka Industrial Society also followed suit and circulated a draft of its own.

But after 1921 the interest in works committees declined rapidly, a phenomenon for which various causes have been assigned: neither the employers nor the workers could devote much attention to constructive schemes during the depression then prevailing, the workers were engrossed by the more urgent question of securing discharge allowances, a sense of disillusionment had spread after exaggerated hopes had been entertained in the scheme for works committees, and the suspicion had arisen among the workers that the works committees were promoted by the employers in order to hinder the development of trade

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 131.

unionism. The result was that the total number of works committees fell from forty-two in 1921 to three in 1927.

The progress of the idea of trade union legislation, however, reacted favourably on the development of works committees. When the first Trade Union Bill was submitted to the Diet in 1925 the employers began to reconsider their attitude, and in their study of the relationship between works committees and trade unions their interest in such committees was revived. The "Model Works Regulations", drawn up by the Bureau of Social Affairs, provided for the setting up of works committees. After the *Hōkō Tenkan* (change of direction) the Right Wing unions also adopted an attitude favourable to works committees. They began to endeavour seriously to secure the right of collective bargaining through works committees, and this policy was intensified after December 1928, when the General Federation of Labour succeeded in setting up a works committee at the Tokyo Steel Manufacturing Company.

Lastly, in 1929, an Industrial Committees Bill, which was a slightly modified version of the draft previously circulated by the *Kyocho Kai* in 1921, was presented by a private Member to Parliament, with the support of the Seiyu Kai Party. It failed however, to commend itself either to employers or workers. The employers opposed the Bill on the ground, chiefly, that while the spontaneous organisation of works committees might be useful, a legal obligation to create them would be liable to cause trouble; the workers argued that a works committee scheme which was not based on trade unionism would not only be useless but would be liable to impede the progress of trade unionism.

An investigation carried out by the *Kyocho Kai* at the beginning of 1929 gives the number of works committees in Japan as 112, of which 53 were in State or municipal and 59 in private undertakings. The total number of workers covered by these works committees was estimated at about 320,000. The committees were distributed over twenty-nine prefectures and classified as follows :

Kind of undertakings	Number of works committees
Private enterprises :	
Mining industry . . . . .	15
Textile industry . . . . .	5
Chemical industry . . . . .	6
Machine and tool industry . . . . .	27
Food and drink . . . . .	1
Miscellaneous . . . . .	5
State or municipal enterprises . . . . .	53
Total . . . . .	112

Of the 112 works committees investigated, 69 (representing nearly 62 per cent.) were committees consisting solely of the workers, while 43 (representing 38 per cent.) were joint committees of representatives of employers and workers<sup>1</sup>. In the case of committees consisting solely of the workers' members, the usual practice is to include representatives of the management in an advisory capacity. Invariably, all these committees are only advisory bodies in essence, the difference being that some of them may make spontaneous suggestions to the management, while others express their views as a rule only on questions put on the agenda of the meetings<sup>2</sup>.

Only in a few exceptional cases are the trade unions recognised in the constitution of works committees<sup>3</sup>. As a rule the workers' representatives are chosen quite independently of the trade unions, a fact which has reinforced the view that works committees may be set up as "vertical" organisations of the representatives of employers and workers in order to restrain indirectly the growth of the "horizontal" organisation of trade unions.

Nevertheless, the *Sōdōmei* and the former *Jun Kōjō Kai*, now known by the name of *Nihon Rōdō Sōrenmei* (Japanese Federation of Trade Unions), have consistently followed a policy of securing better conditions of work through works committees, while the unions of the Left Wing are inclined to utilise them as a means of promoting the class war.

#### *The Kaiji Kyodō Kai (or Joint Maritime Board)*

A notable piece of permanent conciliation machinery is the national Joint Maritime Board (*Kaiji Kyodō Kai*) composed of representatives of the Japan Shipowners' Association on the employers' side, and of the Mercantile Marine Officers' Association and the Japan Seamen's Union on the seamen's side. As will be seen from the following brief account of its constitution and functions, this body is of great value to the shipping industry; in addition to its general duties, it has rendered to the industry the

<sup>1</sup> Of the fifty-three committees in State or municipal undertakings, fifty-two consist of workers only. In private undertakings, the joint committee is the rule.

<sup>2</sup> It is only in two or three exceptional cases that the recommendations of the works committee have a certain binding effect.

<sup>3</sup> Works committees having trade union representatives have been set up by the *Sōdōmei* at a steel works and at an electric machine factory in Tokyo, and by the *Jun Kōjō Kai* at two machine shops also in Tokyo.

signal service of settling the 1928 strike by the adoption of minimum wage rates and of preventing a strike in January 1931 by securing agreement for a reduction of wages.

The setting up of the Board was determined by the need for machinery for the application of the International Labour Convention<sup>1</sup>, adopted at Genoa in 1920<sup>2</sup>, for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen. For some time the Japanese Government, which ratified the Convention in 1923, had allowed an unofficial body called the Seamen's Relief Association, subventioned by the State, to carry on the work of free employment exchanges for seamen in lieu of the State. But this practice gave rise to serious complaints from the seamen's unions, so that finally the Government issued an order in September 1926 requiring the three organisations of shipowners and seamen mentioned above to set up a joint body to carry on, *inter alia*, the employment exchanges provided for in the above-mentioned Convention. The Joint Maritime Board was formally inaugurated towards the end of 1926.

According to the Constitution of the Joint Maritime Board, it was set up "in order to promote the healthy development of Japanese merchant shipping", and it is responsible for : (a) the management of the seamen's employment agencies ; (b) the consideration of all matters relating to seamen's conditions of employment and work ; (c) prevention of and conciliation in disputes between shipowners and seamen ; (d) the management of the seamen's club and seamen's homes ; (e) any other duties connected with the work of promotion of the healthy development of merchant shipping<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The provisions of the Convention require that public employment offices for finding employment for seamen shall be organised and maintained without charge by representative associations of shipowners and seamen under the control of a central authority, or, in the absence of such joint action, by the State itself (cf. Article 4 of the Draft Convention).

<sup>2</sup> Second Session of the International Labour Conference.

<sup>3</sup> Articles 11 and 12 of the Constitution contain provisions of special importance from the point of view of conciliation.

"Article 11. — If the meeting is unable to decide on any proposal submitted to it, it may decide to refer the disputed question to an umpire. to be agreed upon by both sides, for decision.

"Article 12. — All disputes between the parties represented on the Board or between shipowners affiliated to the shipowners' organisation and seamen's organisations, or between shipowners and seamen affiliated to the seamen's organisations, must be submitted to the Board for settlement. Shipowners are prohibited from declaring a lock-out, or seamen's organisations from declaring a strike until a decision has been taken by the



The headquarters of the Board are at Kobe ; local or branch offices are established in the most important ports. Half the expenses of the organisation are met by the State, and half by equal contributions by the shipowners' and seamen's associations. The Board consists of six representatives from each side ; the Chairman is chosen alternately from each side and is empowered to convene the Board once a month or more frequently if necessary.

*The Kyocho Kai or "Harmonisation Society"*<sup>1</sup>

Finally, reference must be made to the *Kyocho Kai*, which is the only private organisation of national importance constituted for the purpose of promoting conciliation between the employers and workers. The Society has played a role of considerable importance since its foundation in 1919 for the improvement of industrial relations in Japan.

In consequence of grave unrest in the world of labour after the Armistice, a Government Commission, known later as the Commission on Social Services, was appointed in December 1918 to find ways and means of dealing with the antagonism between employers and workers. It is to a report of this Commission, recommending that a non-official organisation should be set up to investigate and find a solution for the existing tension of industrial relations, that the origin of the *Kyocho Kai* may be traced. On 22 December 1919 the *Kyocho Kai* was officially incorporated with a total fund of six million yen, consisting of voluntary donations and a Government subsidy.

The revised programme of the Society covers six points :

(a) To enquire into every measure relating to social reform, in conjunction with other institutions, either public or private, and to publish the results thereof.

(b) To reply to questions relating to social reform submitted by the Government, or to make suggestions for social reforms to the Government or other institutions, either public or private.

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Board or until it has failed to settle the matter in dispute ; it is also laid down that no acts of sabotage or acts calculated to affect the shipowners' interests adversely shall be committed while the matter under dispute is before the Board."

<sup>1</sup> The information contained in this section is based chiefly on *The Kyocho Kai — a Handbook on its History, Management and Activities* and *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, pp. 991-999, both published by the *Kyocho Kai* itself.

- (c) To organise schools, classes, lectures and libraries.
- (d) To take practical measures for the promotion of workers' education and their welfare.
- (e) To assist in arbitration and conciliation in industrial disputes.
- (f) Any other activity than the above mentioned approved by the General Council.

The offices of the *Kyochō Kai* are situated in Shiba Park, Tokyo, and are divided into five sections : General Affairs, Labour Affairs, Rural Affairs, Research, Education. In 1921 a branch office of the *Kyochō Kai* was established in the City of Osaka in view of its importance to Japanese industry.

Immediately after the foundation of the *Kyochō Kai* a comprehensive study of labour and industrial legislation in Europe and America was undertaken, while at the same time various enquiries into the conditions of industries and the situation of the working class in Japan were also made. The results of these investigations have been used as data for formulating various measures for social reform. By the establishment and administration of certain social works, *Kyochō Kai* has also sought to give guidance to social workers in Japan. The early programme of work included the establishment and management of a National Central Office of Labour Exchanges as a temporary measure during the time when there was no proper department in the Government dealing with the question of unemployment ; after the Bureau of Social Affairs was created, the Employment Office was transferred to it. As already recorded, the Society submitted to the Government in 1921 a Bill dealing with the compulsory establishment of joint works committees in factories and mines where not less than a hundred workers are employed ; model rules for works committees were also prepared by the Society and appended to the Bill. The Bill was not accepted by the Government, but the model rules have been adopted in many factories and mines which have works committees.

Again, it was largely as the result of the agitation of the *Kyochō Kai* for an independent and separate Ministry to deal with labour questions that the Bureau of Social Affairs was created in the Department of the Interior as the central Government authority for labour administration. The *Kyochō Kai* had no small influence in promoting the revision of the old Factory Act, after the creation of the new Bureau of Social Affairs ; it has also continued to make useful suggestions to the Government, representative employers' organisations, and to workers' leaders re-

garding new proposals for labour legislation, such as the Trade Union Bill.

The *Kyocho Kai* has further distinguished itself as a research organisation having a competent staff and equipped with the necessary means. The cost-of-living statistics compiled in 1923 by the *Kyocho Kai* formed one of the most valuable contributions made to the study of the labour problem in Japan, and was the first important investigation of its kind carried out on a national scale. As an illustration of the educational work carried out by the *Kyocho Kai*, it may be mentioned that in 1920 it established a school for the special training of men and women in the knowledge of social politics.

The *Kyocho Kai* does not profess to attempt to intervene in any industrial dispute, but should one or both of the parties to a dispute request the *Kyocho Kai* to mediate, it does not hesitate to respond, and it has a remarkable record of successful mediation.

The success of the *Kyocho Kai* has been greatly due to the cordial relations and fruitful collaboration it has maintained with the Government authorities concerned with social or labour questions, representative employers and leaders of the working class movement.

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## PART III

# LABOUR LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

### CHAPTER I

### LABOUR LEGISLATION

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#### *Labour Legislation before 1919*

The labour legislation of Japan is of comparatively recent origin. So long as the feudal outlook dominated national economic life, and industrial relations were regulated in accordance with the paternalistic conception of an earlier age, the need for legal regulation of conditions of labour was not understood. It was not until the methods of Western industrialism were firmly established in Japan that it began to be realised that the traditional institutions did not meet all the needs of a modern industrial economy, and that the State had a duty to the ever-increasing numbers of wage-earning factory workers handling power-driven machinery with its attendant risks.

Yet even now the range of Japanese labour legislation is restricted in comparison with that of European countries with longer industrial experience. It is for the most part protective legislation; the main clauses of the Factory Act (the fundamental labour law of Japan) cover only women and children. There is at present only one law in force<sup>1</sup> which regulates the working hours of men and women alike. In spite of repeated attempts at legislation, Japan has as yet no trade union law. It is only within the

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<sup>1</sup> The first law limiting the working hours of men and women came into effect in 1930. It applies only to underground work in mines, the hours being limited to ten per day.

past few years that laws have been enacted in which the interests of the employer and worker are dealt with as requiring equal consideration. In short, although recent legislation has a markedly progressive tendency, it is still in an early stage of development.

Legal provisions dealing with matters of special concern to industrial workers or with some aspects of conditions of employment came into existence little more than twenty years after the close of the feudal period. The provisions in the old Civil Code of 1890 relating to employment, contracts of work and apprenticeship (sections 260-274), and those in the new Civil Code of 1896 relating to the duration of prescription as it applies to wages, preferential rights on wages, and employment contract (sections 74, 306, 309, 311, 324, 623-631) are examples of early legal provisions of the Meiji Government relating to conditions of employment. Again the Code of Civil Procedure of 1890 (section 618, clause 6), provided that the wages of workers and employees cannot be seized in distraint. But all these provisions relate to the rights of property, obligations, etc.; labour does not as yet constitute a special subject of legislation<sup>1</sup>.

The Commercial Code promulgated in 1896 is the first step in the direction of special legislation safeguarding the interests of certain classes of workers. In this Code are provisions relating to commercial employees<sup>2</sup> and commercial agents<sup>3</sup>, but it is the provisions applying to seamen<sup>4</sup> which are most significant. In 1910 the Fishing Act was promulgated, providing in its section 40 that conditions of employment as well as accident compensation for workers in the fishing industry might be regulated by Imperial Ordinance, but there has been no further legislation on these lines. Chronologically, the Mining Act<sup>5</sup> of 1905, which introduced protective legislation for Japanese miners, preceded the Fishing Act, but it did not come into effect as far as the protective provisions are concerned until more than ten years later, being brought into force by an Ordinance issued in 1916. This

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<sup>1</sup> In 1898 the Superior Council of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry submitted a document urging upon the Government the necessity of enacting "a comprehensive law to regulate the relation between employer and employed". This document alludes to "the scramble for workers" and to their sufferings "under the exploitation" of the employers.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 6 (sections 29-35).

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 7 (sections 36-41).

<sup>4</sup> Chapter 2 (sections 558-589), Book V of the Commercial Code.

<sup>5</sup> In the first ten years after the Restoration of 1868 the Government bought up and worked the mines.

Ordinance authorised the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce to fix the minimum age for miners, the maximum hours for women and young persons, and laid down regulations as to the kind of work upon which they might be employed. Chapter 5 (sections 75-80) of the Mining Act made the mine owner responsible to the Mining Inspection Bureaux for the conditions of labour in his mines, required that wages be paid at least once a month in currency and obliged the mine owner to give relief to a sick or injured miner or to his surviving family at his death, if the sickness, injury or death occurred in the course of the performance of his work, the amounts of relief or compensation to be granted to be fixed by Ordinance.

The first important Japanese law for the protection of workers was the Factory Act of 1911. This enactment contained only twenty-five sections — supplemented by forty-two sections in the Ordinance for the Administration of the Act and thirty-one in the Detailed Regulations — but simple as it was in its content, this legislation had required thirty years of persistent effort on the part of the Government. In the course of this period the competent Minister had changed twenty-three times, and the chief of the Bureau of Industry who had directly to do with the preparation of the Bill had changed fifteen times. Before the text was finally adopted, the original text had to be revised and re-submitted to the authorities over 120 times.

In comparison with the passage of similar legislation in European countries, the circumstances under which the Factory Act of 1911 was enacted were peculiar. The drafting of the Act was begun long before the public had fully awakened to the flagrant evils which modern factory life involves and while it was still comparatively ignorant of its physical and moral effects on women and children. Up to the time when the Act was promulgated, the necessity for it had been recognised, not by the people, but by the Government and the intellectual classes. Neither the workers nor the employers intervened to any extent, owing to the fact that at this period neither were organised, nor did they then take much interest in labour legislation. There was also a lack of interest in the proposed Act among politicians, who never made it a question of party politics. The whole initiative came from the Government, as in some other instances of similar legislation.

The main opposition to the passage of the Act came from those who considered the legislation premature. For example, a delay of many years was caused by the provision prohibiting night work ; this measure was regarded with grave concern, because night work was widely practised in textile mills, the basic industry of the country. The prohibition of night work was therefore agreed on only after important modifications had been made, and its enforcement was delayed until fifteen years after the rest of the Act had come into operation.

The main features of the Factory Act of 1911 were as follows<sup>1</sup> :

(a) The Act applied to factories regularly employing fifteen or more persons or to those engaged in dangerous or unhealthy work.

(b) The limitation of hours of work, prohibition of night work, provisions regarding safety, health, holidays and rest periods applied only to women and young workers.

(c) The minimum age for admission to employment was fixed at twelve years ; light work was allowed for boys above ten years of age

(d) Provision was made for maternity protection.

(e) The Act also made provision for factory inspection, employer's liability in cases of injury sustained by a worker, and penalties for infringements of the law

For many years the scope of the application of the Act was the subject of much controversy. In the early stages of preparation, it was proposed to apply the law only to factories employing fifty or more persons. During the time the Bill was under discussion this provision was changed to "thirty or more persons" and the final text adopted covered factories employing fifteen or more persons besides those engaged in dangerous or unhygienic work. As a result of these changes the number of factories covered when the Act came into force was 18,931, employing 1,118,077 workers<sup>2</sup>.

The next step after the enactment of the Factory Act was to extend its protective provisions to women and young persons employed in mines<sup>3</sup>. This was done in 1916, the year in which the Factory Act of 1911 was put into force, by the Regulations for the employment and relief of miners (*Kōfu Rōyeki Fujo*

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<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of the International Labour Office* (Basle), 1911, Vol. VI, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Details of the Act regarding hours of work, minimum age, night work, etc., are given in subsequent chapters.

<sup>3</sup> The Mining Act of 1905 had foreseen such an extension, but in the absence of parallel legislation applying to factories no practical steps had been taken until 1916



*Kisoku*)<sup>1</sup>. By the promulgation of the Ordinance for the Administration of the Factory Act (Imperial Ordinance No. 193 of 1916), the Act of 1911 was definitely put into operation as from 1 September 1916 at the same time as the Miners' Regulations.

The Miners' Regulations applied to all mining work irrespective of the number of persons employed in the mine. Recalling that the Factory Act applied only to factories employing at least fifteen persons except where the work performed was dangerous or unhealthy, it may be inferred that mining was regarded as belonging to the category of dangerous or unhealthy work requiring special regulation. Otherwise, the Regulations had much the same limitations as the Factory Act. The provisions relating to hours of work, rest periods, holidays, safety, health and other protective measures applied only to women and young persons; the provisions for accident compensation, and for funeral and burial benefit (in case of death of a worker arising from his employment) were also the same as in the Factory Act.

The subsequent development of Japanese labour legislation was much influenced by the First Session of the International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919. This Conference came at a time when most Japanese industries had been working at high pressure during the war years and public attention had been to some extent directed to the risks of industrial employment by the startling rise in the number of accidents recorded. The Conference aroused an enormous amount of interest in Japan in the labour problem itself<sup>2</sup> as well as in the legislation which the adoption of the Washington Draft Conventions would involve. Difficulties which such a country as Japan was bound to encounter at the Conference had been foreseen by those who drafted the Peace Treaty<sup>3</sup>, and the Conference appointed a special Committee to deal with the countries which had demanded special consideration in the drafting of an Hours Convention of general

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<sup>1</sup> *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 2 (B).

<sup>2</sup> *Rōdō Mondai* (the Labour Problem) was given much publicity and was continually under discussion by the general public.

<sup>3</sup> "In framing any Recommendation or Draft Convention of general application the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation, or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries." (Part XIII (Labour) of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, Article 405, paragraph 3.)

application<sup>1</sup>. As the result of the deliberations of the Committee (upon which Japan was represented) Article 9, applying to Japan only, was inserted in the Hours Convention. The Conventions dealing with the night work of young persons and the minimum age of admission of children to industrial employment also contain special Articles modifying for Japan the age adopted for European industry<sup>2</sup>. The influence of these provisions on Japanese labour legislation will be dealt with in the following pages.

### *Existing Labour Legislation*<sup>3</sup>

It is not intended in this chapter to make a detailed examination of existing legislation. This will be done in subsequent chapters where the various aspects of conditions of labour are treated separately. Under the present heading attention will be drawn to the main features of existing laws, and to the extent to which Japan has legislated in regard to such matters as: (i) factories; (ii) mines; (iii) seafaring; (iv) other employments; (v) employment exchanges; (vi) social insurance; (vii) trade unions; (viii) miscellaneous.

*Factories.* — The Factory Act of 1911, which was partially put into operation in 1916, has been amended in several respects to bring it to some extent into harmony with the provisions of a number of the Conventions<sup>4</sup> adopted by the International Labour

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<sup>1</sup> There was a wide difference between the standards of the Washington Conventions and the practice in Japan in 1919. For instance the Hours Convention proposed to limit working hours to eight per day and forty-eight per week for both sexes in practically all industry, but Japan had only just succeeded (in 1916) — after more than thirty years' struggle — in laying down the legal limit of eleven hours (or strictly speaking twelve hours with one hour of compulsory rest) a day for women and young persons under fifteen years of age in the factories employing normally fifteen or more workers. On the minimum age of admission to industry, the Draft Convention proposed fourteen as the minimum age of admission to industrial employment, while the Japanese Factory Act had fixed it at twelve years of age, allowing the employment of boys above ten years to engage in "light work". Two Draft Conventions contemplated the complete abolition of all night work in industry, one for women and the other for young persons, while the Factory Act of Japan had allowed fifteen years' delay of enforcement.

<sup>2</sup> INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, p. 17, Studies and Reports, Series B, No. 16. Geneva, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Here, only the national labour laws are dealt with without mentioning the prefectural orders, although some of the latter contain advanced and important regulations.

<sup>4</sup> The only one of the Conventions here referred to which has been ratified by Japan is that fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment.

Conference at Washington in 1919. The amended Act<sup>1</sup> was promulgated in 1923 but was not applied until 1926 when the Ordinance for the Administration of the Amended Factory Act<sup>2</sup> was issued.

Japanese factory legislation was directly affected not only by the Conventions concerned with hours of work<sup>3</sup>, minimum age of admission to industrial employment<sup>4</sup> and night work of

<sup>1</sup> Act No. 33 of 1923 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1923, Jap. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 153 of 1926 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Article 9 of the Hours Convention reads as follows :

"In the application of this Convention to Japan the following modifications and conditions shall obtain :

"(a) The term 'industrial undertakings' includes particularly ;

"The undertakings enumerated in paragraph (a) of Article 1 ;

"The undertakings enumerated in paragraph (b) of Article 1, provided there are at least ten workers employed ;

"The undertakings enumerated in paragraph (c) of Article 1, in so far as these undertakings shall be defined as 'factories' by the competent authority ;

"The undertakings enumerated in paragraph (d) of Article 1, except transport of passengers or goods by road, handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, and transport by hand ; and

"Regardless of the number of persons employed, such of the undertakings enumerated in paragraphs (b) and (c) of Article 1 as may be declared by the competent authority either to be highly dangerous or to involve unhealthy processes.

"(b) The actual working hours of persons of fifteen years of age or over in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, shall not exceed fifty-seven in the week, except that in the raw silk industry the limit may be sixty hours in the week.

"(c) The actual working hours of persons under fifteen years of age in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, and of all miners of whatever age engaged in underground work in the mines, shall in no case exceed forty-eight in the week.

"(d) The limit of hours of work may be modified under the conditions provided for in Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this Convention, but in no case shall the length of such modification bear to the length of the basic week a proportion greater than that which obtains in those Articles.

"(e) A weekly rest period of twenty-four consecutive hours shall be allowed to all classes of workers.

"(f) The provision in Japanese factory legislation limiting its application to places employing fifteen or more persons shall be amended so that such legislation shall apply to places employing ten or more persons.

"(g) The provisions of the above paragraphs of this Article shall be brought into operation not later than 1 July 1922, except that the provisions of Article 4 as modified by paragraph (d) of this Article shall be brought into operation not later than 1 July 1923.

"(h) The age of fifteen prescribed in paragraph (c) of this Article shall be raised, not later than 1 July 1925, to sixteen."

<sup>4</sup> Article 5 of the Convention :

"In connection with the application of this Convention to Japan, the following modifications of Article 2 may be made :

young persons<sup>1</sup>, but also by the Maternity Convention and the Convention prohibiting the night work of women. The amendments to Japanese legislation that may be attributed to the influence of these Conventions are summarised in the following paragraphs :

The *scope of application* of the Factory Act was extended in accordance with Article 9, paragraph (f), of the Hours Convention to apply to workplaces employing ten or more workers instead of " fifteen or more workers " (section 1 of the Act.) Also, throughout the laws protective provisions formerly applying to " persons below fifteen years of age " were extended to apply to " persons below sixteen years of age ".

*Hours of work* were reduced by an hour, i.e. from the former twelve hours of attendance to eleven hours. Since the Factory Act requires a break of at least one hour when the work lasts more than ten hours, the legal maximum of working hours in Japan in force at present for women and young person is ten hours per day.

A radical change was made in the provisions relating to the *minimum age for admission to industrial employment* in order to bring Japanese legislation into harmony with the Convention ; the provisions relating to minimum age in the old Factory Act of 1911 (section 2) were deleted and a new law was enacted separately, the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act, promulgated in 1923 and enforced as from 1926<sup>2</sup>. Japan has ratified this Convention, and consequently fourteen years is now the minimum age of admission to industrial employment, with the exception that a child above twelve years of age may be employed if he has completed the elementary school education<sup>3</sup>.

The provisions of the amended Factory Act concerning the *night work of women and young persons* came into effect from 1 July 1929, and the law now follows the relevant Conventions in prohibiting employment between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.; the prohibited period was 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. in the original Factory Act of 1911.

The present Act differs from the Conventions inasmuch as it applies only to factories (or workplaces) where ten or more workers are engaged or where dangerous or unhealthy work is carried out. The

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" (a) Children over twelve years of age may be admitted into employment if they have finished the course in the elementary school ;

" (b) As regards children between the ages of twelve and fourteen already employed, transitional regulations may be made.

" The provision in the present Japanese law admitting children under the age of twelve years to certain light and easy employments shall be repealed. "

<sup>1</sup> Article 5 of the Convention :

" In the application of this Convention to Japan, until 1 July 1925 Article 2 shall apply only to young persons under fifteen years of age and thereafter it shall apply only to young persons under sixteen years of age. "

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1923, Jap. 2, and 1926, Jap. 1 (a).

<sup>3</sup> For details see *International Labour Review*, Feb. 1929, pp. 198-200

Japanese Act also allows the extension of work till 11 p.m. with the sanction of the administrative authorities<sup>1</sup>.

As regards *maternity protection*, under the Act of 1911 the employment of women was prohibited during only five weeks after confinement; the Regulations for the administration of the Amended Factory Act of 1923, however, prohibit the employment of women four weeks before and six weeks after their confinement. There is also a new provision obliging the employer to allow a woman during working hours two periods of thirty minutes each to nurse her child if it is less than a year old<sup>2</sup>.

A number of other changes were brought about by the Act of 1923. The exemption of specific industrial undertakings from the application of the health and safety provisions of the Act were lessened, and in respect of *compensation* in cases of accident a new conception of employers' liability was introduced. Under the amended Act the employer must pay compensation for all accidents arising in the course or as the result of the performance of work; under the old Factory Act he was liable only if he failed to prove that the accident was due to a grave fault of the worker himself. The amounts of compensation have also been considerably raised<sup>3</sup>.

The scope of workmen's compensation was widened by the promulgation in 1931 of the Act concerning the relief of workers in case of accidents<sup>4</sup>, together with the Act concerning the insurance against the liability for the relief of workers in case of accidents<sup>5</sup>. These two Acts came into operation on 1 January 1932. As a result of their enforcement about 1,750,000 workers engaged in civil engineering, construction, transportation, communication, etc., are now entitled to receive relief from their employers in case of sickness or injury arising out of their employment. Hitherto only about 2,250,000 workers in factories and mines were entitled to such relief but now it is extended to

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the prohibition of night work of women in Japan, cf. *International Labour Review*, March 1929, article entitled "The Employment of Women in Japanese Industry", pp. 393-395.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. I (sections 9 and 9bis of the Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act).

<sup>3</sup> The provisions of the Factory Act in respect of accident compensation are not applied in State factories, but under the Ordinance for the Compensation of State Workers the amounts of compensation granted are practically the same as those fixed by the Factory Act (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1 (D)).

<sup>4</sup> *Legislative Series*, 1931, Jap. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1931, Jap. 2.

about 4,000,000 workers (in fact, almost all workers) in industrial undertakings.

*Mines.* — In Japanese mines which are privately owned the principal labour laws in force are the Mining Act of 1905, as amended in 1924<sup>1</sup>, and the Regulations for the employment and relief of miners of 1916, as amended in 1926<sup>2</sup> and in 1928<sup>3</sup>.

*Hours of work* were reduced by the Amended Regulations of 1926 from the former twelve hours of attendance to eleven hours, including a break of at least one hour for women and young persons under sixteen years of age. Until 1928 the provisions relating to hours of work, rest periods, etc., of miners were applicable only to women and young workers, but with the last amendment made in September 1928<sup>4</sup> Japanese labour legislation limited for the first time the working hours of men. In virtue of this amendment, since September 1930, neither man nor woman working underground in mines may work more than ten hours a day. For women and young persons a break of at least half-an-hour is stipulated, thus reducing their underground working hours to nine-and-a-half per day. As in the case of factory legislation, the Miners' Regulations require only two holidays per month for women and young persons; four holidays per month are, however, compulsory when they are working night shifts.

The practice of *night work* in mines will be continued until 1933, when, according to the amendment of 1928, it will be made illegal to employ women and young persons at night.

The provisions for *maternity protection* in mines are the same as for factories. As regards *minimum age*, the old provision prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age has been struck out of the Miners' Regulations and in its stead the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act is applied. In respect of *safety, health and accident compensation*, the amendments are identical with those made in factory legislation. The payment of *wages* for miners is governed by provisions which are contained in the Mining Act of 1905; these are the same as for factory workers<sup>5</sup>.

*Seafaring.* — The conditions of work of seamen are regulated by the Merchant Marine Section of the Commercial Code of 1899<sup>6</sup>, the Mariners Act of 1899<sup>7</sup> and the Seamen's Minimum Age and Health Certificate Act of 1923.

<sup>1</sup> *Legislative Series*, 1924, Jap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1926, Jap. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Kampo* (Official Gazette of Japan), 1 Sept. 1928.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. below, pp. 192-194.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Seamen's Articles of Agreement*, p. 744. Studies and Reports, Series P, No. 1. Geneva, 1926.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 749.

<sup>8</sup> *Legislative Series*, 1923, Jap. 3.

The Commercial Code (Book V, Merchant Marine) lays down the fundamental rights and duties of masters and seamen alike. The rights of seamen in respect of discharge, compensation in cases of illness, injury or death, their right to quit the service when maltreated by the master or when shipwrecked, etc., are set out in some detail<sup>1</sup>. Repatriation rights in case of shipwreck or when the vessel is irreparably damaged, seized by the enemy, etc., are also mentioned, though the text does not clearly state who should bear the expenses of repatriation. The same chapter of the Commercial Code<sup>2</sup> fixes the duties and competence of the master.

The Mariners Act of 1899 was the first law to regulate specifically the conditions of employment of seamen. It does not deal, however, with such conditions of work as hours, wages, etc., but only with articles of agreement, discharge, repatriation, discipline of seamen, etc.

The later legislation relating to seamen was enacted after Japan had ratified the Conventions concerning facilities for finding employment for seamen and fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to employment at sea, both adopted at the Genoa Conference in 1920, and the Conventions concerning the minimum age for admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers and the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea, adopted at Geneva in 1921. In order to give effect to the first-named Convention, the Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act<sup>3</sup> was promulgated in 1922 and enforced in the same year. For the application of the other Conventions, the Seamen's Minimum Age and Health Certificates Act<sup>4</sup> was promulgated in 1923 and enforced also from the same year. According to this Act, no child under fourteen years of age may be employed at sea on any vessel other than a vessel on which only members of the same family are employed, and no young person under eighteen years of age may be engaged unless he is medically certified as fit for employment as a seaman; eighteen years is also the minimum age for admission to employment as a trimmer or stoker.

*Other employments.* — Legislation regulating conditions of work in commerce, agriculture, forestry, fishing, etc., is as yet almost non-existent.

Commercial employees are mentioned in the Commercial Code of 1899<sup>5</sup>, but the Code does not include provisions relating to the conditions of employment. There is in fact an express statement (section 35) to the effect that notwithstanding the stipulations of Chapter 6, containing this section, the provisions of the Civil Code may be applied concerning employment relations between the "master and employees"

<sup>1</sup> *Seamen's Articles of Agreement* (Book V, Chapter II, sections 576-589).

<sup>2</sup> Book V, Chapter II, sections 558-575.

<sup>3</sup> *Legislative Series*, 1922, Iap. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1923, Iap. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Commercial Code, Book I (General Principles), Chapter 6 (Commercial employees), sections 29-35.

in commerce. It may be inferred therefore that the general law of contract of employment applies to them in respect of payment of wages, notice of dismissal, etc. There is no legal limitation of hours of work in commerce.

As regards agriculture, Japan has ratified the Convention concerning the age of admission of children to employment in agriculture and there is an Ordinance<sup>1</sup> which carries out the substance of the Convention. The important Tenancy Disputes Conciliation Act<sup>2</sup> is not strictly a labour law. The Fishing Act<sup>3</sup> mentions that the employment conditions and accident compensation of fishing workers may be regulated by Ordinance, but no Ordinance has yet been issued.

*Employment exchanges.* — Japanese legislation concerning employment exchanges owes its origin to the International Labour Conference. Japan has ratified both the Convention concerning unemployment adopted at the Conference at Washington in 1919 and the Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen adopted at the Genoa Conference in 1920. It was to be in a position to carry out these Conventions that the Employment Exchanges Act of 1921, the Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act of 1922 and the Regulations for the Control of Profit-Making Employment Exchanges of 1925 were promulgated. A complete national system of employment exchanges has been established for workers on land as well as for seamen.

*Social insurance.* — Social insurance legislation in Japan is represented by the Health Insurance Act of 1922. The scope of application of the Act is limited to industrial undertakings to which the Factory or Mining Act applies and covers sickness, injury, maternity cases and death<sup>4</sup>. Unemployment insurance is being studied by the Bureau of Social Affairs, but no national system has yet been introduced by law.

*Trade unionism.* — There is no legislation specifically regulating the exercise of the right of association. The Constitution guarantees the right of Japanese subjects to form associations and from time to time Bills to give legal status to trade unions have been presented to the Diet but none of them has been passed.

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<sup>1</sup> The Elementary School Ordinance (Imperial Ordinance No. 344 of 1900, sections 32, 35, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Tenancy Disputes Conciliation Act, Act No. 18 of 1924.

<sup>3</sup> Act No. 58 of 1910, section 40.

<sup>4</sup> Seamen and workers employed in agriculture, commerce, fishing and forestry do not come under the Act though employees receiving less than 1,200 yen per year may be insured under the system provided by the law.



Special legislation, in the form of the Public Peace Maintenance Act, aiming at the suppression of revolutionary propaganda, was enacted in 1925 and was made still more stringent in 1928 by an Urgent Imperial Order making it a capital crime to organise a revolutionary movement. Another law, the Act for the repression of violence was enacted in 1926, making it punishable to carry arms or use mob force. But neither of these laws has been expressly aimed at trade unionism and they affect workers' organisations only indirectly<sup>1</sup>.

The latest Trade Union Bill was a Government measure introduced in the Diet in February 1931; it was passed by the House of Representatives, but failed to be adopted by the House of Peers as the discussion of the Bill was still proceeding when the session of the Diet closed. The main provisions of the Bill are given below in view of the important influence they are bound to have on the future development of trade unions in Japan.

The objects of a trade union recognised by law are "the maintenance or improvement of conditions of labour, mutual aid and culture among members and other activities for the protection or promotion of common interests". Any organisation of workers engaged in the same or similar trade or industry or any federation of such organisations will be recognised.

A trade union may admit as members not only actual workers but any person who was once a worker in the same or a similar trade as well as anyone who is or was an official of the union. Soldiers and sailors, as well as civilians attached to the army or navy, are excluded generally from membership.

For the legal recognition of a trade union notification must be made to the authorities accompanied by a copy of the rules, including the name, objects, address of headquarters, etc. Trade unions are free to be incorporated or not as they please.

The discharge of a worker by an employer on account of membership of a trade union is unlawful. A contract of service which requires that the worker shall either withdraw from or refrain from joining a trade union is declared invalid.

The authorities are empowered to declare illegal any conduct on the part of a union which is contrary to law or to the rules of the union. They may also require unions to submit reports of their transactions, property, membership, etc. Means are provided for trade unions to resort to litigation if their rights are unlawfully violated.

*Miscellaneous.*—The Emigration Protection Act<sup>2</sup> was enacted in 1896, chiefly to meet the case of the increasing number of

<sup>1</sup> The Public Peace Police Act was considered to be a hindrance to the growth of trade unionism, but in 1926 the sections of the Act which had been criticised as obstacles to trade union activities were repealed

<sup>2</sup> No. 70 of 1896.

Japanese workers who at that time went to Hawaii and the United States. The pressure of increasing population at a later period led to the passage of the Overseas Emigration Society Act, 1927<sup>1</sup> which was designed both to encourage and assist emigrants.

The Act prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches<sup>2</sup> was passed to give effect to the Recommendation of the Washington Labour Conference concerning the application of the Berne Convention of 1906.

Furthermore, two Ordinances which call for mention are the Ordinance for the control of the recruitment of workers<sup>3</sup> and the Regulations for dormitories attached to factories<sup>4</sup>. These Ordinances are of particular importance in a country where, as in Japan, factories have sprung up so rapidly that the labour supply in their neighbourhood is exhausted in a short time, and special measures have to be taken for recruiting workers and housing them at the place of work. In Japan factory owners send out agents to distant provinces to recruit workers and in some cases — especially in textile mills — the workers are housed in dormitories attached to the factory. These two Ordinances were issued to deal with some of the problems arising from this system.

Finally, still another Ordinance of considerable importance is the Regulation for Accident Prevention and Hygiene in Factories. It lays down minute rules in order to ensure the safety and hygiene for workers employed in factories<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Act No. 25 of 1927 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1927, Jap. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Act prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches: Act No. 61 of 1921 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1921, Jap. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Ordinance for the control of the recruitment of workers: Ordinance of the Department of the Interior No. 36 of 1924 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1924, Jap. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Regulations for dormitories attached to factories: Ordinance of the Department of the Interior No. 26 of 1927 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1927, Jap. 2, and 1929, Jap. 5).

<sup>5</sup> See for details Part IV, Chapter V, p. 257 et seq.

The Act prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, the Regulations for dormitories attached to factories and the Regulations for Accident Prevention and Hygiene in Factories are classed under the Laws regulating factory work in Appendix I, pp. 386-387.

## CHAPTER II

### LABOUR ADMINISTRATION

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With the rapid progress of industrialisation in Japan, the necessity for a central administrative authority to deal with labour questions became increasingly apparent. Before the creation of the International Labour Organisation, matters relating to labour protection in Japan were handled by various Government departments, and for this reason no consistent and uniform labour policy could be pursued. The administration of the Factory Act came within the competence of the Bureau of Industry, and the Mining Bureau of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce was responsible for the administration of the laws for the protection of mining workers. It was not, however, clear which of these bureaux should deal with labour disputes. This uncertainty led to the Police Bureau (in the Department of the Interior) being authorised to deal with labour disputes from the standpoint of preserving the public peace. But uncertainty still remained as to whether the Department of the Interior or the Department of Agriculture and Commerce was competent in regard to trade unions. Moreover, the position was complicated by the fact that matters relating to the International Labour Organisation were handled by the Department for Foreign Affairs, on the ground that the Organisation was an outcome of the Peace Treaty.

The inconveniences resulting from the lack of a central authority to deal with labour problems were felt in an increasing degree when at its successive Sessions the International Labour Conference adopted important Conventions, the influence of which on Japanese legislation has been seen in the last chapter. The Japanese Government therefore decided, barely three years after the International Labour Organisation was constituted and the International Labour Office established to set up the Bureau

of Social Affairs as the central administrative authority to deal with labour problems, including questions concerning the International Labour Organisation<sup>1</sup>.

### *The Bureau of Social Affairs*

According to the Ordinance of 1922<sup>2</sup>, the Bureau of Social Affairs is under the direction of the Minister of the Interior and deals with the following subjects :

- (1) General labour questions
- (2) Enforcement of the Factory Act.
- (3) Matters relating to mining workers covered by the Mining Act.
- (4) Enforcement of the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act.
- (5) Labour disputes.
- (6) Social insurance.
- (7) Prevention and relief of unemployment.
- (8) Relations with the International Labour Organisation.
- (9) Relief and charity.
- (10) Child protection.
- (11) Army and navy relief
- (12) Other social work<sup>3</sup>

The Bureau is under a Director-General and is divided into Divisions, Sections and Services ; a branch of the Health Insurance Division is in Osaka. The Labour and Insurance Divisions are concerned with labour administration, while purely social work is the concern of the Social Work Division, which also deals with employment exchanges. There are a number of important auxiliary or advisory permanent commissions attached to the Bureau. The more important commissions are :

(1) Commission for the investigation of workers' insurance, originally established in December 1921 in order to prepare the draft of the Health Insurance Act.

(2) Commissions of enquiry concerning health insurance, consisting of the Commissions of first, second and third instance, established in accordance with the Health Insurance Act in order to deal with the cases of complaint or dispute relating to the benefits granted under the Act.

(3) Employment exchange commissions, one at the Central Board

<sup>1</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 460 of 1922.

<sup>2</sup> The Ordinance has been amended almost every year since it was first issued. The present information is taken mostly from *Shakaikyoku Kankei Jimu Gaiyō* (Outline of the Work of the Bureau of Social Affairs), published by the same Bureau in January 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Until 1929, when the Department for Overseas Affairs was created, matters relating to emigration used to be included among the functions of the Bureau of Social Affairs

of Employment Exchanges, and also one at each of the Local Boards of Employment Exchanges. In all these commissions there is a certain proportion of the representatives of the employers and workers, both parties being represented by an equal number of members.

There are also a few permanent commissions dealing with social questions, such as the Commission for the investigation of social work, the Commission for the prevention of unemployment and the Commission for the investigation of the problems of food and population. The internal organisation of the Bureau of Social Affairs is set out below.

*General Service Section :*

- (1) Personnel service.
- (2) Documents service.
- (3) Library service.
- (4) Accounts.

*Labour Division .*

(a) *Labour Legislation Section :*

- (1) Labour legislation in general.

(b) *Labour Administration Section :*

- (1) Conciliation of labour disputes.
- (2) Relations with the International Labour Organisation
- (3) Investigations of labour conditions.
- (4) Other problems of labour.

(c) *Inspection Section :*

- (1) Enforcement of the Factory Act.
- (2) Enforcement of the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act.
- (3) Protection of mining workers.

*Insurance Division .*

(a) *Supervision Section :*

- (1) Supervision of health insurance societies.
- (2) Health Insurance Commissions.
- (3) Study of social insurance problems.
- (4) Insurance statistics

(b) *Administration Section :*

- (1) Special accounts for health insurance.
- (2) Setting up of insurance offices and financial supervision.
- (3) Training of insurance officers, etc.

(c) *Medical Section :*

- (1) Medical treatment.
- (2) Hygiene.
- (3) Study of technical aspects of medical service, etc

(d) *Osaka Branch of the Insurance Division :*

(Looks after the western half of Japan.)

*Social Work Division :*

(a) *Protection Section :*

- (1) Charity and relief (victims of fire, earthquake, etc., are included).
- (2) Army and navy relief.
- (3) Reformatory work.
- (4) Child protection.
- (5) Other social work.

(b) *Welfare Section :*

- (1) Housing questions.
- (2) Public baths, pawnshops, cheap restaurants, cheap lodgings, etc.
- (3) Social uplift.

(c) *Employment Section .*

- (1) Employment exchanges.
- (2) Prevention and relief of unemployment.
- (3) Study of unemployment insurance.

The Bureau is not a separate Government Department, being under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, although its annual budget is much larger than that of some separate Departments. This organisation is considered to be advantageous from the point of view of ensuring the effective enforcement of labour laws and orders throughout the country and securing the collaboration of local authorities in all prefectures, because the Governors as well as the Chief Police Officers of the prefectures (who assist greatly in the enforcement of labour legislation) are appointed by the central Government and are supervised mainly by the Minister of the Interior. If a separate department independent of the Minister of the Interior were created, it is feared that difficulties might arise and the present full collaboration of the local authorities might not be so easily maintained. However this may be, there is a section of opinion which attaches much moral importance to the creation of a Labour Department, believing that such a step would lead to more widespread interest in and a better understanding of labour problems. Proposals for the creation of a Labour Department have been presented to the Diet by Members of Parliament, but so far they have not received any serious attention.

The permanent staff of the Bureau consists of Chiefs of Division, secretaries, administrative officers, clerks, etc., numbering

over 120 officials, who include experts<sup>1</sup> on social legislation, industrial hygiene, and labour problems.

The yearly budget appropriation for the Bureau shows its importance; the amounts appropriated for the last four or five years are shown below :

TABLE XXII. — BUDGET OF THE BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 1927-1931

Year	Expenditure of the Bureau itself	Outside work entrusted to the Bureau <sup>1</sup>	Total
	Yen	Yen	Yen
1927	556,865	5,901,156	6,458,021
1928	892,890	5,832,504	6,725,394
1929	815,854	6,787,203	7,603,057
1930	815,854	6,787,203	7,603,057 <sup>2</sup>
1931	432,327 <sup>3</sup>	—	—

<sup>1</sup> This includes the expenses of the Permanent Delegation to the International Labour Office, national reformatories, employment exchange offices, asylum for disabled soldiers, State contribution to health insurance, poor relief, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In 1930, the Government decided that the budget should be the same as in 1929.

<sup>3</sup> *Kampō* (Official Gazette) Supplement of 27 March 1929

A large number of experts known as *San-yo* (counsellors) have been appointed to advise the Bureau of Social Affairs with a view of increasing its efficiency and securing that its administrative policy shall be based on sound principles. The counsellors are selected and proposed to the Cabinet by the Minister of the Interior, and the appointments are made from among high officials dealing with industrial and labour questions; independent persons having either practical experience or theoretical knowledge of these questions are also appointed. The counsellors meet from time to time to discuss Bills prepared by the Bureau and other important matters.

In connection with the Bureau of Social Affairs, reference must be made to the *Permanent Delegation of the Japanese Government to the International Labour Organisation*. Japan was the first country to appoint a permanent delegation to the Organisation, the Delegation of the Japanese Government having been set up in 1920 by an Imperial Ordinance within a few months after the International Labour Office was established at Geneva. The Delegation has a dual function: it studies labour legislation and industrial conditions in Europe and keeps the Japanese Gov-

<sup>1</sup> Many of these have distinguished themselves in the scientific study of such questions besides having had long experience in their respective fields.

ernment informed (being in fact the *liaison* between the Tokyo Government and the International Labour Office), and it supplies information on the subject of Japanese labour and industry to the International Labour Office and to any other organisations or individuals at their request. The Director of the Delegation is the permanent representative of the Japanese Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office<sup>1</sup>. The collaboration between the Delegation and the International Labour Office has been close and fruitful<sup>2</sup>.

#### *Other Central Authorities for Labour Administration*

In addition to the Bureau of Social Affairs, there are some central Government Departments which still deal with specific branches of labour administration. The *Bureau of Mines*, in the Department of Commerce and Industry, is responsible for the "mining police"<sup>3</sup>; the prevention of accidents in mines, the supervision of equipment within and without the pit and anything on the material side of the protection of mining workers are also within the competence of the Mining Bureau. The Department of Communications deals with employment exchanges for seamen and disputes between seamen and shipowners. These functions are carried out through the *Mercantile Marine Bureau*.

A large number of workers are employed by various departments of the Government such as the Navy, Army, Treasury, Railways, etc. In the enforcement of the Factory Act, as well as the Orders issued in accordance with the Act, these Departments are considered the proper administrative organs in respect of these workers.

#### *Local Administrative Authorities*

The principal local authorities for the enforcement or administration of labour laws in the prefectures are the local Governors, chiefs of the Communication Bureaux, chiefs of the Mining

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<sup>1</sup> The present Director is Mr. Shunzo Yoshisaka, who was for many years Chief Factory Inspector in the Bureau of Social Affairs. Some members of the staff are officials of the Bureau.

<sup>2</sup> A Japanese employers' delegation has also recently been set up by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Japan, with Professor Miyajima as the chief of the permanent delegation. The employers' delegation of Japan is also the first of its kind.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mining Act, Chapter 4 (Mining Police), sections 71-74.



Inspection Bureaux, Health Insurance Offices and the Employment Exchange Offices.

The term "Local Governor" (*Chihō Chōkan*) in Japanese law applies to the Governors of forty-three local prefectures (*Ken*), of two urban prefectures (*Fu*) of Osaka and Kyoto, to the Director-General of Hokkaido and the Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police Board in the urban prefecture of Tokyo, making a total of forty-seven local authorities in Japan proper who are charged with the application of labour laws. They are concerned with the administration of the Factory, Minimum Age of Industrial Workers and the Labour Disputes Conciliation Acts, as well as with matters relating to trade unions in general. Factory inspection and the conciliation of labour disputes are included in the duties of the local Governors, who have some hundreds of factory inspectors and conciliation officers working under them in their prefectures.

Communication Bureaux are set up in seven centres of the communication system of Japan, viz. Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Sendai and Sapporo. The chiefs of these Bureaux are in charge of the administration of the laws and Orders relating to seamen under the direction of the Minister of Communications.

There are five Mining Inspection Bureaux : in Tokyo, Osaka, Sapporo, Fukuoka and Sendai. The chiefs of these Bureaux are entrusted with the general administration of mines ; the Mining Inspectors carry out the duties of the mining police.

A Health Insurance Office is established in every urban or local prefecture ; and there are four in the island of Hokkaido. The chiefs of these Offices are under the direction and supervision of the Minister of the Interior and of the Director-General of the Bureau of Social Affairs. The total administrative staff of the health insurance system includes over 320 officials and 500 clerks, beside a certain number of specially commissioned experts and supernumerary employees.

The practical work of employment exchanges is carried out by municipal bodies in cities, towns or villages, but the State has established a Central Employment Exchange Board in Tokyo and Local Boards in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Aomori and Fukuoka to ensure national unity of policy.

*Inspection of Factory and Mining Labour*

Inspection of labour in factories and mines is under the Bureau of Social Affairs and is carried out with the assistance of local Governors and the chiefs of local Mining Inspection Bureaux. With the exception of the inspection of safety conditions in mines, which is a duty of the "mining police", the Bureau of Social Affairs is the supreme central authority for factory and mining inspection.

In the Inspection Section of the Bureau of Social Affairs, there are a certain number of full-time inspectors with a varying number of part-time inspectors as an auxiliary force. The central inspectorate in the Bureau of Social Affairs co-ordinates the administrative practice of prefectural authorities and District Mining Bureaux with the object of maintaining uniformity. All orders, instructions, etc., issued by the central inspectorate go in the first instance to local Governors or to the chiefs of the Mining Bureaux.

The permanent staff for factory and mining inspection is composed as follows<sup>1</sup>:

*Central Inspectorate (in the Bureau of Social Affairs):*

General inspectors . . . . .	2
Assistant general inspectors . . . . .	7
Technical inspectors . . . . .	4
Assistant technical inspectors . . . . .	2
Health inspectors . . . . .	4
Assistant health inspectors . . . . .	0
Total. . . . .	19

*Local Inspection Force (in the prefectural Governments):*

General inspectors . . . . .	19
Assistant general inspectors . . . . .	118
Technical and health inspectors . . . . .	14
Assistant technical inspectors . . . . .	148
Assistant health inspectors . . . . .	34
Total. . . . .	333

Grand total. . . . . 352

Technical inspectors include experts in safety, etc., while health inspectors are qualified doctors in charge of industrial hygiene.

The inspectors have the right to inspect factories and their equipment at any time either in the day or at night. They may

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdo Jihō*, Dec. 1930, p. 2, and Dec. 1931, p. 4. The figures were exactly the same for the two years.

also examine any worker who they have reason to believe has contracted an infectious or other disease scheduled as excluding from work any person suffering from it. The only condition imposed on the inspectors in executing this duty is to carry with them the inspector's warrant which they must show at the request of the factory owner, occupier or any other person who is entitled to see it. Any person who obstructs inspection, evades answering questions put by the inspectors or gives false replies is liable to a fine of 500 yen. Japanese inspectors have no right to issue orders directly to factory owners; this right is reserved to the local Governor or the chief of the Mining Bureau of the district as the case may be. When an inspector finds that there has been a breach of the law he cannot himself proceed to prosecute the offender; he can only report the facts to the Public Prosecutor<sup>1</sup>.

In order to maintain uniformity and to provide an opportunity for discussion of the problems arising in the course of inspection, a conference of inspectors is held at the Bureau of Social Affairs at least once a year. The degree of thoroughness with which inspection is carried out may be seen by the annual reports of factory inspection issued by the Bureau of Social Affairs.

During 1930 it is reported that in the aggregate 30,614 visits were made to 26,875 factories. This means that roughly 37 per cent. of the factories which come under the Factory Act were inspected at the average rate of 0.6 times in that year<sup>2</sup>. The largest number of inspections were of textile mills: 9,024<sup>3</sup>. The cost to the State for the transport of inspectors in connection with their official work is some 60,000 yen<sup>4</sup>.

The cases of violation of laws have not decreased on the whole, though the number has fluctuated from year to year. During 1928, 1929 and 1930, the numbers of "warnings" given to factory owners and occupiers in the case of slight deviations from the law were 20,954; 25,906 and 19,273 respectively, while the number of convictions has varied considerably: 463 in 1928, 559 in 1929 and 515 in 1930. The most frequent offences were those of employing women or young persons in excess of the

<sup>1</sup> It has been pointed out that as regards this limitation of the right of inspectors in Japan "there is much left for study in comparison with the systems in force abroad in order to improve the effective working of the inspection system in this country" (S. YOSHISAKA, *op. cit.*, p. 260).

<sup>2</sup> The rate was considerably lower than in 1929.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Dec. 1930, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō* for 1927, 1928 and 1929.

legal hours ; in 1930 there were 150 such cases. The extent of the infringement of the law, as well as the chief causes of "warnings" or convictions during the five-year period 1926-1930 may be seen in the following two tables (tables XXIII and XXIV).

TABLE XXIII. — CONVICTIONS FOR THE VIOLATION OF THE FACTORY ACT, THE MINIMUM AGE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ACT, ETC., 1926-1930<sup>1</sup>

	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
(1) Employing women or young persons in excess of the legal working hours . . . . .	122	204	126	101	150
(2) Failure to keep regularly the roll of workers . . . . .	75	81	60	81	42
(3) Failure to report regularly on the morbidity, accidents or deaths in the factory . . . . .	1	31	23	24	32
(4) Failure to keep regularly either the attendance list of workers or the book showing the payment of wages . . . . .	1	37	17	29	8
(5) Failure to pay wages regularly (once a month at least) . . . .	1	25	20	32	31
(6) Failure to report when the factory should be or ceased to be covered by the Factory Act . . . . .	7	25	18	9	31
(7) Employment of children under legal age or analogous offences .	9	24	52	65	37
(8) For other offences . . . . .	125	198	147	258	184
Total . . . . .	341	625	463	599	515

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Feb. 1928 and 1929, and Dec. 1929, 1930 and 1931.

TABLE XXIV. — NUMBER OF PERSONS CONVICTED, CASES AND AMOUNTS OF FINES, 1926-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of persons on whom penalties were imposed	Number of cases in which penalties were imposed	Amount of fines
1926	274	334	8,970
1927	476	625	14,430
1928	381	464	10,250
1929	418	559	11,562

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Sept. 1930.

## PART IV

# CONDITIONS OF WORK

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### CHAPTER I

#### RECRUITMENT, EMPLOYMENT AND DISCHARGE OF WORKERS

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Before proceeding to deal with such central aspects of the conditions of employment as hours of work, wages, health and safety arrangements, etc., it is necessary to give some account of the law and practice regarding the entry into employment, the general conditions of employment and the discharge of workers. This will be done in this chapter under the headings "Recruitment", "Admission to Employment and Apprenticeship", "Works Regulations" and "Discharge of Workers".

#### *Recruitment*<sup>1</sup>

One of the results of the rapid development of industry in Japan was that the demand for factory labour largely exceeded the local supply or the voluntary internal migration to industrial centres. In the textile industry, more particularly, expansion was so rapid that the supply of labour in the vicinity of new mills was very quickly exhausted, and it soon became necessary to recruit labour in the rural districts. Since the extension of the employment exchange system the importance of recruiting operations has begun to decline, but it would seem that employment exchanges have not as yet been developed sufficiently to cope with the pressing demand of the great mills.

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<sup>1</sup> The problems of recruitment in Japan and the measures taken by the Government are described by S. YOSHISAKA : " Labour Recruiting in Japan and its Control ", in *International Labour Review*, Oct. 1925, pp. 484-499.

It has been estimated that at one time there were over 50,000 persons engaged in recruitment work<sup>1</sup>. This number has decreased gradually year by year since the Ordinance for the control of recruitment was issued in 1924, but even now there are some 14,000 agents touring the country for the purpose of enlisting new operatives. The number of workers so recruited in 1930 was close upon 270,000, a decrease of over 68,000 from the previous year. Table XXV shows (by industries) both the number of agents and of workers recruited during a period of four years, up to the end of 1930.

TABLE XXV. — NUMBER OF RECRUITING AGENTS AND WORKERS RECRUITED BY THEM, 1927-1930<sup>1</sup>

Industries	Recruiting agents				Workers recruited			
	1927	1928	1929	1930	1927	1928	1929	1930
Silk reeling	13,288	12,906	12,394	10,348	236,595	250,066	228,107	215,810
Cotton spinning	4,759	3,356	3,394	2,698	68,218	48,850	70,208	27,750
Weaving	1,718	1,426	1,068	1,080	20,738	15,264	2,311	8,172
Other textile mills	134	116	102	141	2,302	1,647	1,158	1,304
Various other factories	58	98	104	70	2,265	2,071	3,843	2,338
Mining	143	156	142	47	9,791	10,871	9,550	7,040
Civil engineering	52	39	35	18	11,790	11,984	11,320	5,778
Others	64	61	44	18	1,673	1,270	394	180
Total	20,196	18,158	17,283	14,420	353,372	342,023	330,891	268,372

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1928 (Appendix: Annual Report on Recruitment of Workers for 1928, pp. 1-4) and *Rōdō Jihō*, Aug. 1931, p. 2.

The agents go to the areas where they are to work armed with propaganda literature, which is attractively illustrated to heighten its effect. The equipment of the agents often includes a cinematographic apparatus to show pictures of factory life, they describe this life and its advantages in glowing terms and quote wages which naturally strike the country people as being very high in comparison with what they can earn for agricultural work. Moreover, they promise that part of the earnings of the recruited boy or girl shall be periodically remitted to the parents, and as a rule make the proposal that a lump sum of money shall be sent to parents who may be in need of cash. Advances are also made for the outfit and transport of the recruited worker.

These conditions naturally lead to abuses, some of the most serious of which arise from the loans made as advances on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. YOSHISAKA, *op. cit.*

wages to be earned by the young people recruited. When a large amount of money has been borrowed by the parents, the son or daughter whose employment is the guarantee for the loan is virtually deprived of freedom, and is practically in the position of an indentured labourer. While there is no legal obligation for the workers to remain with the employer until the money borrowed has been paid back by so many months, or years, of work, there is in fact no other solution than to continue in the employment until the loan is paid back. Moreover, under this system of lending money to the parents of the recruited workers the bond of the debt is sometimes drawn up in such a way that, if any difficulties arise in the payment of the debt, the case would be brought before the court not of the village where the parents of the worker are living but of the town where the factory is situated. The parents are usually in poor circumstances and have no means of travelling to a distant town even when legal action is taken against them; the result is that the case is judged in their absence and as a rule to their disadvantage<sup>1</sup>.

The means used by the agents to induce the country people to accept their offers are no doubt based upon their knowledge that those working on the land are not easily led to consent to take up new work in a distant town — first because often they do not actually need outside work to make a living, and secondly because they instinctively shrink from leaving their native place. A positive inducement will alone persuade them to engage in the unaccustomed work of a factory in a strange place. However this may be, the result is that year after year the employers have to place larger and larger sums of money at the disposal of the agents, increasingly elaborate methods are used, and there is no small amount of competition among the recruiting agents.

Recruitment has thus become a heavy item of expenditure for the employer<sup>2</sup>, but still more serious are its social and moral aspects. In the keen competition for workers, the agents are led to describe the conditions of work in the factories in exag-

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<sup>1</sup> For a full description of this situation, cf. Dr. T. FUKUDA's, *Shakai Undō to Rōgin Seido* (Social Movements and the Wage System), pp. 319-325.

<sup>2</sup> "The cost naturally varies from place to place and the itemising of the recruiting costs is not altogether uniform, but it is said that the cost runs from 20 or 30 yen up to 70 yen per head" (S. YOSHISAKA, *op. cit.*, p. 489).

gerated terms, over-emphasising advantages and concealing disadvantages, and making promises which cannot be carried out. In the long run, these exaggerations and the abuses connected with advances will no doubt reduce the possibilities of recruiting, but meanwhile the evils continue. The Government has, therefore, intervened to regulate recruiting by issuing in 1924 the Regulations for the control of the recruitment of workers. Even before the Ordinance of 1924 attempts had been made to exercise some sort of control of recruiting by means of regulations made by the prefectural authorities applying only in the districts within their jurisdiction. It would seem that these local rules were enforced in the areas for which they were drawn up, but since they differed from one prefecture to another and there was no national law to correlate them, the effect of the protection afforded the workers was limited. Moreover, Mr. Yoshisaka describes the prefectural regulations as being mainly designed to safeguard the labour supply of the industries in their own districts.

The Ordinance for the control of recruitment of workers<sup>1</sup> was issued in 1924 by the Department of the Interior under section 17 of the Factory Act which provides that "matters respecting the engagement and dismissal of workers, the supervision of employment agencies and apprenticeship shall be regulated by Imperial Ordinance". The essential provisions of the Ordinance are as follows :

The Ordinance applies to the whole of Japan proper and covers the recruitment of workers for factories, mines and manual labour generally with the exception of agricultural and fishery workers<sup>2</sup>.

Any person engaged in recruiting workers must have a permit from the local Governor, and when applying for the permit must be in possession of an authorisation signed by the prospective employer. The agent is prohibited from recruiting workers for more than one employer at a time unless he has been previously authorised by the employers concerned to work for them collectively.

The recruiting agent must state and thoroughly explain the terms of employment as set out clearly in the draft contract as well as in a

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<sup>1</sup> In *Legislative Series*, 1924, Jap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Ordinance does not apply to the recruitment of workers emigrating abroad, this being already covered by a special law. Nor does it apply to recruitment at the place of employment and carried out by means of written advertisement instead of by employment agents. Any recruitment which does not entail the removal of the recruited worker from his actual place of residence is also excluded from the application of the law.



booklet setting forth the conditions of employment. Such draft contract and booklet must be previously submitted to and approved by the administrative authorities.

The recruiting agent is compelled to report to the authorities on a number of occasions. Before beginning to recruit workers, he must report at the police station of the place where he proposes to operate. He must notify the police at least three days before he leaves the locality with the recruited workers he is conducting to their place of employment. If a night is spent on the way (except on a train or boat) when the agent is conducting the workers to the place of employment, he must previously notify the police station of the place where the night will be passed. He must always have upon his person the recruiting agent's certificate and produce it when demanded either by the workers or their parents. He must also carry with him the list of the workers he has recruited and is conducting.

The action of the recruiting agent is restricted in other ways and he is liable to severe penalties if he contravenes the regulations. For instance, it is laid down specially that he must not recruit the worker by force or exaggerate facts or act immorally towards women. He is warned against taking the recruited workers to cafés, bars, tea-houses, dancing halls, etc. Without due cause he may not prevent the recruited workers from going out of doors, corresponding with or meeting other people. He must in no case be cruel to the recruited workers or unduly restrict their freedom. He is prohibited from retaining the workers' belongings and may not refuse to return them if they have been put in his charge.

In certain cases the employer for whom the agent is recruiting, or the agent himself, is held responsible for sending the worker back to his home, and more particularly (1) if the actual conditions of employment are found to be contrary to the statement given in the draft employment contract or in the recruitment booklets distributed before the contract is concluded; (2) if the employer, recruiting agent or superintendent has been cruel or immoral in his relations with the worker; (3) if the recruited worker does not obtain the employment for which he has a contract either on account of failure to pass physical, mental or other tests or because it does not suit the convenience of the employer to take him on; or (4) if for any unavoidable reason the worker must return to his or her home.

Recent reports from Japan appear to show that these Regulations have had useful results. Penalties are being strictly enforced. In 1930 warnings were given by the authorities in 290 cases of misconduct of the agents, and in 334 cases penalties — in the form of imprisonment or fines — were imposed for the violation of the Regulations or of prefectural orders issued in conformity with them; although it may be the agent who is prosecuted responsibility devolves upon the employer for whom he acts.

Although the question of loans and advances has not been dealt with by legislation, the authorities are said to be endeavouring to dissuade the parents of workers from borrowing money or obtaining advances on the coming employment from recruit-

ing agents or employers. Employers also are beginning to find out that there are disadvantages attached to the system of loans, and as a result the competition to secure labour by this means is rapidly diminishing. Moreover, the workers themselves have begun to prefer higher wages to large loans made to their parents. In Gifu, Yamanashi, Niigata and Fukui prefectures, where the competition to secure workers had been carried to excessive lengths, the employers have begun either to form syndicates among themselves to regulate the supply of workers or are adopting a common agreement ruling out the methods they have employed in the past.

Similar action has been taken by the Government, under section 17 of the Factory Act, to control fee-charging employment agencies. Now that a system of free and public employment exchanges has been established in Japan in conformity with the Conventions of 1919 and 1920, profit-making employment agencies are destined to disappear<sup>1</sup>. The Government considered, however, that immediate abolition of these agencies was impracticable and decided to tolerate them, subject to regulation. For this purpose, the *Regulations for control of profit-making employment agencies* were promulgated in 1925<sup>2</sup>, placing such agencies under the strict control of administrative authorities.

According to the Regulations, any person who proposes to open an employment agency for profit must obtain a permit from the prefectural Governor through the police authority of the place where the agency is to be conducted, and while he runs the agency he is not permitted to conduct the business of a lodging house, restaurant, licensed brothel, pawnshop, dancing hall, café or bar. He is required to keep books recording the operations of the agency in the form prescribed by the Regulations and to submit periodical reports to the authorities. There are severe penalties for the publication of exaggerated or false advertisements and notices, also for making false statements or concealing the truth concerning the character, qualifications or state of health of the applicant for employment or the family circumstances of the employer, conditions of employment, remuneration and other terms he offers. An engagement must not be forced on an applicant for employment, nor must anyone already in employment be induced to change his employer by being referred to another. Money, goods or other advantages must not be given or lent on any pretext in order to induce an applicant to accept employment. The employment agent is liable to a heavy penalty for immoral acts committed against an applicant for employment or for taking any applicant into a "place of

<sup>1</sup> Recommendation concerning unemployment, adopted at the First Session of the International Labour Conference, 1919

<sup>2</sup> In *Legislative Series*, 1925, Jap. 1 (c).

amusement " (i.e. bar, dancing hall, etc.). Further, he has no right to provide sleeping accommodation at his house to any applicant for employment unless he has previously obtained permission from the police authorities. The penalties for the contravention of the Regulations include suspension or cancellation of the permit, detention of the agent, or fines not exceeding 100 yen.

The enforcement of these rules is said to be leading to a gradual suppression of the evils which used to be more or less common in profit-making employment agencies, and the agencies have been steadily decreasing in number for some time, particularly since the end of 1928.

### *Admission to Employment and Apprenticeship*

Japanese legislation is based on the theory of "freedom of contract" and this principle underlies the legislation respecting the labour contract, which, according to the terms of the Civil Code, becomes legally effective only when one of the parties (i.e. the worker) has promised to render service to the other and the latter (i.e. the employer) has promised to give him remuneration for the service<sup>1</sup>. The nature of the service is not defined, hence it may be either physical or mental work; but because of the express provision that the service is performed for remuneration, a service without remuneration does not fall within the purview of the law.

No detailed conditions of admission into employment are contained in the Civil Code. The Code was drafted in 1879 by a Frenchman, Mr. Boissonade, on the broad principles of French law<sup>2</sup> and the provisions regarding contracts of employment have remained unaltered unto this day in spite of the great changes in the social and industrial conditions of the country. Detailed provisions restricting the conditions of admission to employment<sup>3</sup> were, however, introduced by the Factory Act of 1911 and the Miners' Regulations of 1916, measures by which the State for the first time intervened by legislation in regard to the terms of employment.

More recently, legislation has also been passed to regulate

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<sup>1</sup> Civil Code, sections 623-631.

<sup>2</sup> This original Code promulgated in 1890 was revised later according to a German arrangement, dividing the Code into five "Books" and promulgated in 1896.

<sup>3</sup> Particulars of the age of admission to work in factories, mines or at sea and of other protective provisions have already been given in Part III

the conditions of apprenticeship. The system of apprenticeship which existed in Japan during the feudal period has largely died out with the passing of handicrafts and small-scale industries. The "apprenticeship" system of the new factory industries had few of the qualities of the old system and was often merely a cloak for the exploitation of unskilled juvenile labour. It became necessary to legislate, and an endeavour was made to retain the "tradition of apprenticeship"<sup>1</sup> by ensuring the effective training of workers by really skilled masters and yet by various legal safeguards to prevent the exploitation of young workers.

According to the law now in operation, the contract for apprenticeship must fulfil the following conditions<sup>2</sup>:

- (1) The work must be undertaken with the object of acquiring the knowledge and skill necessary for a particular occupation;
- (2) Training must be given under the direction and care of a specified person;
- (3) Definite supervision must constantly be given in regard to moral training;
- (4) The apprenticeship must be subject to regulations sanctioned by the prefectural Governor.

Further, before indenturing apprentices, a factory owner must obtain the approval of the Governor, previously submitting to him an application showing:

- (1) Number and ages of the proposed apprentices;
- (2) Qualifications of the instructor;
- (3) Nature and duration of the training to be given;
- (4) Nature of the work to be performed by the proposed apprentices and their hours of work;
- (5) Particulars of holidays and rest periods;
- (6) Methods of moral training;
- (7) Monetary allowances granted to the proposed apprentices;
- (8) Safety and hygienic measures taken if the apprentices are women or minors;
- (9) Terms of the articles of apprenticeship.

The actual number of apprentices indentured under this law is very small, and has steadily decreased in the last ten years. In 1920 there were 3,118 apprentices in nineteen factories; in 1924 the number of apprentices had fallen to 1,481 in eighteen factories, and in 1929 only twelve factories had an apprenticeship system

<sup>1</sup> S. YOSHISAKA, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1 (B), Chapter IV, p. 10

and apprentices numbered 780<sup>1</sup>. Of these about forty were in one brewery and all the rest in machine and tool industries. Recent reports of factory inspectors show that the period of apprenticeship varies from two to seven years and the hours of work are from eight to ten per day. Sundays and festival days are observed as holidays. Most factories give daily or monthly allowances as "pocket money" amounting from 15 to 60 sen per day, in addition to free board and lodging. The subjects taught include draughtsmanship, physics, mathematics and English; the teachers are usually graduates of engineering colleges or universities, normal schools, etc., and in many cases the training is given in schools attached to the factory.

Mr. Yoshisaka is of opinion that the object of the legislation has not been attained largely because it is not possible to apply the same apprenticeship regulations in small workshops and large factories.

The actual situation of apprentices in smaller workshops where the Factory Act does not apply cannot be ascertained by official reports. Legally there may be few apprentices, but actually a large number of young people are employed whose conditions need regulation. It is apt to be assumed that, in workshops where less than ten workers are employed, the "family system" prevents any serious exploitation of young workers. It is true that the relations between employer and worker are more intimate and personal, since as a rule they share the same food and shelter, and work and live as if they were all of one family; and it is assumed that the conditions relating to hours of work and rest, nourishment and general hygiene are not unsatisfactory, and in any case the apprentice and the master are in like case. But it is a fact that large amounts of cheap goods for home consumption, or for export, are manufactured under these conditions. Toys, paper boxes, fans, bamboo articles, Japanese parasols and lanterns, paper patterns, straw braids, ribbons or tapes in cotton or silk, embroidery and hundreds of other small hand-made objects which constitute an important part of Japanese export goods are manufactured in small workshops not covered by the Factory Act, and it is in those workshops that unregulated apprenticeship still prevails.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1928, p. 33, and 1929, p. 47 of the appendix

### *Works Regulations*

Rules of employment exist in many industrial undertakings, but it is only in mines<sup>1</sup> and in factories where fifty or more workers are regularly employed that the law requires works regulations to be drawn up and posted. In most cases these regulations lay down the conditions of employment and discharge, hours of work, holidays, method of payment of wages, compensation for meritorious service and punishment for breaches of discipline, etc. These regulations are almost always issued by the management without agreement with the worker and their terms are often disputed. Works regulations must, however, be approved by the administrative authorities. The Mining Act of 1905 requires that "the holder of the mining right shall fix the rules concerning the employment and labour of miners and shall obtain the approval of the Director of the Mining Inspection Bureau" (section 75); but as regards factory work, it was only in 1926, when the Amended Factory Act of 1923 was put into force, that the Ordinance for the administration of the Factory Act<sup>2</sup> laid down provisions requiring factory occupiers employing regularly fifty or more workers to draw up regulations concerning:

- (a) Time of beginning and ceasing work, rest periods, holidays, alteration of shifts if work is performed on a shift system employing the workers in turn in more than two groups;
- (b) Time and methods of paying wages;
- (c) Provisions concerning payments for board and any other charges made to workers;
- (d) Provisions concerning discipline, if any;
- (e) Provisions concerning the dismissal of workers.

The employer must submit the draft regulations to the prefectural Governor and obtain his approval of them; the Governor may amend the draft if he thinks fit. The same procedure must be followed if any change is subsequently made in the regulations required by the Ordinance. Appropriate measures must be taken by the employer to make the works regulations known to the workers. The factory owner is required to "affix in a conspicuous

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that regulations must be made for all mines, independent of the number of workers, while for factory work the smaller workshops are not included in the Ordinance.

<sup>2</sup> In *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1 (B). Chapter III, section 27 *quater*.

place in each workshop particulars of the hours for beginning and ceasing work, rest periods and holidays". Some of the more important items in the works regulations must be "clearly shown" to the workers. For example, the rates as well as the methods of calculation of wages as fixed by the regulations must be thoroughly known by the factory worker or miner, as also the disciplinary provisions. The regulations must also contain a summary in simple language of the requirements of the law as regards maternity leave, compensation, etc.

An enquiry made by the Kyocho Kai in 1926 revealed the nature and extent of the rules relating to sanctions laid down as the "conditions of employment" in textile mills<sup>1</sup>. The acts which gave rise to sanctions included : disobeying the orders of foremen or management, disorderly or immoral conduct, irregular attendance at work, lack of attention in the performance of work, working for other factories without the consent of the employer, failure to improve in proficiency or skill, drunkenness, smoking in other than rooms designated for the purpose, etc. The sanctions to be applied included reprimand, fine (or payment for damage done), reduction of wages, suspension of work, detention in the factory premises and discharge. Not infrequently there were rules to the effect that those who "make complaints" or instigate or incite others, or who "are about to engage in instigation" would be punished. Investigations showed that in a few cases the rules of the factory laid down explicitly that those who organised a strike were punishable. Although Japan has no special law which prohibits the employer from demanding that in the employment contract the workers shall promise not to join a trade union<sup>2</sup>, in practice the employer is not permitted to make such a demand. For instance, in 1925, the prefectural authorities of Aichi, Miyagi, Tottori, etc., ordered the suppression of the clauses in the works regulations which provided for sanctions to be applied in case of a worker joining a trade union.

The methods of control of works regulations by the local authorities are reported in the annual reports of factory inspection. If the provisions regarding sanctions contained in the works regulations are found to be excessively severe, the author-

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<sup>1</sup> The enquiry was addressed to 161 textile mills employing at least 300 workers ; of these mills 105 replied. Cf. *Shakai Seisaku Jiho*, Nov. 1926, p. 141 ; Aug. 1927, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> The Trade Union Bill contains a provision on this point (cf. Part III, Chapter I, p. 147).

ities secure their alteration and this has had the effect of reducing the cause of friction between employers and workers<sup>1</sup>.

### *Discharge of Workers*

A number of legal conditions have to be fulfilled before a worker can be discharged. The conditions which apply generally to all employment contracts are found in the Civil Code whereas the conditions which apply specifically to factories and mines are in the factory legislation and mining regulations. The general rule of the Civil Code is that an employment contract which was made for an indefinite term may be cancelled at any time by either party, but the notice to cancel the contract takes effect only two weeks after the notice is given unless there is a special agreement to the contrary<sup>2</sup>.

The factory law provides that when an employer wishes to discharge a worker, the notice for dismissal must be given two weeks in advance, or the worker must be paid a sum of money equivalent to at least two weeks' wages in lieu of notice<sup>3</sup>, except that in cases of *force majeure*, such as the destruction of the workshop by fire, misdemeanour or crime committed by the worker, etc., the contract may be cancelled at once without notice or the payment of two weeks' wages. The worker, on the other hand, is only subject to the general provisions of private law when he wishes to leave his employment; he is not bound by obligations corresponding to those laid upon the employer. For example, according to Japanese custom, illness of the worker's parents (if they look to him for assistance) constitutes an "unavoidable circumstance" demanding his presence at home and he may leave his work at once, enjoying the same freedom from civil responsibility towards the employer as if he were himself ill or injured. The worker who is injured or contracts an illness in the performance of his work cannot be discharged on two weeks' notice; in such cases, the notice of two weeks cannot be given until a minimum period of two months has expired.

Women may not be dismissed during leave of absence for childbirth. The law entitles them to a period of leave of four weeks before and six weeks after childbirth, so that, if the four

<sup>1</sup> The rules of the textile mills relating to sanctions have doubtless been made less severe since 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Civil Code, section 627.

<sup>3</sup> Section 27 *bis* of the Ordinance for the administration of the Factory Act (cf *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1)



weeks' leave of absence has been taken, the dismissal notice of the employer can only take effect after twelve weeks, or two weeks after the ten weeks' maternity leave.

Japanese legislation takes into consideration the fact that many workers are recruited at a distance from the place of work and obliges the employer to pay the full expense of the journey home, when discharging a woman or a young person under the age of sixteen to suit his own convenience, or when a worker who is injured or contracts illness in the performance of his work is discharged and returns home within fifteen days after dismissal. This must cover the journey by train, ship or other means of transport with meals and sleeping accommodation in addition if the journey takes more than a day. In the case of a sick person requiring someone to accompany him the expense must also be borne by the employer. In addition, the employer usually gives the worker a small sum as "pocket money". In 1930 there were 12,285 factory and 8,827 mining workers returned to their homes at the expense of the employers in conformity with the legal provisions governing discharge, the cost to the employers concerned being 44,274 yen for factory and 109,063 yen for the mining workers<sup>1</sup>.

The factory and mining laws of Japan require further that the employer shall deliver a certificate to any dismissed worker, at the latter's request. The certificate must deal only with the period during which the worker has been employed, the kind of work performed and the wages he has received. Although the purpose of this limitation is not explicitly stated in the text of the law, it is designed to protect the worker from employers whose practice was to make notes or marks on the certificate which were prejudicial to the worker in seeking employment elsewhere. The employer may, however, enter any statement regarding the conduct, skill, etc., of the worker at his request. In practice, however, it appears that few workers demand certificates.

Apart from these provisions of the national law, supervision over conditions for the dismissal of workers is exercised by prefectural Governors and chiefs of local mining bureaux when they approve the works regulations. More detailed legal regulations regarding the conditions in which workers may be discharged

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<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, Dec. 1929, p. 11. and Jan. 1931, p. 9

have however, for some years been demanded by trade union leaders, with a view to safeguarding workers against dismissal on account of trade union activities.

Another matter, which it has been urged should be regulated by legislation, is the "discharge allowance". It is an almost universal custom in Japan to give a "discharge allowance", but it is not a legal obligation. Employers, however, consider themselves to be under a moral obligation to grant such allowances, and they constitute a not inconsiderable charge on industry. The practice is still regarded as an expression of the paternalistic sentiment and is even upheld as a "noble tradition, peculiar to Japanese employers". Of late, however, the adequacy of the custom to meet the needs of discharged workers, especially when they are discharged in large numbers, has been called in question. When an employer is obliged to close his factory owing to depression or failure, obviously he is unable to pay the workers he discharges anything approaching the sum he would pay under normal conditions. Moreover, with the growth of large-scale industry and the cessation of personal relations between employer and worker, the individual needs of the workers are no longer taken into account in fixing the discharge allowance.

A Japanese writer who has made a special study of the question suggests that its solution does not lie in providing for the grant of allowances to workers with a record of long or specially meritorious service, but in guaranteeing reasonable means of living to all workers who become unemployed otherwise than by their own fault<sup>1</sup>. This conception is not entirely new, for the discharge allowance has for many years been considered as a form of unemployment relief, and the idea of making it a legal obligation on the employer to pay discharge allowance has been seriously entertained. The difficulty, however, arises precisely from the fact that the principle adopted in fixing the amount has been almost without exception to grant either a fixed sum or fixed percentage in proportion to the length of service. The practice has, of course, varied immensely according to the size or financial capacity of the undertaking, the condition of the labour market at the time when the discharge takes place, and many other circumstances. Inevitably there is a big difference

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<sup>1</sup> YOSHIO MORITA: *Shitsugyo Hoken Ron* (Essay on Unemployment Insurance), pp. 273-274.

between the ordinary allowances which are voluntarily granted by private companies and those granted by State or public institutions when exceptional circumstances cause the discharge of workers *en masse*. Examples of the maximum allowances granted by forty-nine representative factories in Osaka are as follows : under one year's service, 32 days' wages ; four to five years' service, 107 days ; ten to fifteen years, 296 days ; twenty to twenty-five years, 497 days<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276

## CHAPTER II

### HOURS OF WORK, NIGHT WORK AND REST PERIODS

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#### *Factories*

*Hours of work.* — The only statutory limitation of hours of work in Japanese factories relates to women and young persons. Subject to certain permanent and temporary exceptions mentioned below, the daily hours of work of women and of young persons under sixteen years of age<sup>1</sup> employed in factories where ten or more persons are regularly employed or where the work is of a dangerous nature or injurious to health<sup>2</sup>, may not exceed eleven hours, including a break of one hour; the weekly hours of work are not specifically limited. The limitation of daily hours of work also applies, since 1 September 1929, to all factories engaged in weaving or doubling and which use motive power, regardless of the number of persons employed<sup>3</sup>; during the first two years of the operation of this amendment, the limitation was twelve hours a day, but since 1 September 1931 it has been eleven hours.

The only permanent exception in force affects factories which are entirely exempted from the field of application of the Factory Act, under paragraph 2 of section 1. These factories are specified in section 1 of the Ordinance for the administration of the Act; they are factories which do not use motive power and are engaged in the manufacture of certain foodstuffs, basket, bamboo and straw goods, fans, certain kinds of toys and paper goods, Japanese wearing apparel, stockings and other tailored articles made by hand, hand-made silk and cotton cord, embroidery, lace, button-lace or drawn thread work.

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<sup>1</sup> The age was fifteen years until 1 July 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1 (B.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1929, Jap. 1 (B)

For a number of years after the amended Factory Act came into force (1 July 1926), a longer working day was permitted in various branches of the textile industry. These were granted in virtue of section 3, paragraph 2, of the Act, under which the Minister of Home Affairs was authorised to extend the daily hours of work by a period not exceeding two hours, according to the nature of the work, and for a period not exceeding fifteen years from the date of enforcement of the amended Act. In pursuance of this provision, section 3 of the Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act permitted any undertakings for spinning, the manufacture of silk thread by machinery or of silk woven goods for export, as might be specified by a prefectural Governor, to extend the hours of work of women and young persons under sixteen years of age<sup>1</sup> to twelve in the day until 31 August 1931, provided that the work was not carried out by two or more shifts. By a subsequent amendment, made at the request of the manufacturers, the exception for the manufacture of silk thread by machinery was abolished on 1 July 1930; the other exceptions came to an end on 31 August 1931 as provided for in the Regulations.

No provision is made for exceptions in the case of preparatory or complementary work. In case of emergencies arising from a natural calamity or actual or impending disaster, the Minister for Home Affairs may suspend the provisions of the Act relating to working hours, night work and rest periods in specified industries and districts. Temporary exceptions permitting overtime will be dealt with below.

As regards the hours actually worked in Japanese industries, the most important sources of information are the annual reports on factory inspection issued by the Bureau of Social Affairs (these reports, however, only appear from one to two years after the date to which they refer), the monthly report on wages and prices published by the Bureau of Statistics of the Imperial Cabinet (which contain up-to-date information on hours of work but are not comprehensive), and the labour census<sup>2</sup>, which since 1924, when the first investigation was made, has been taken every three years. The second labour census was taken in 1927,

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<sup>1</sup> Fifteen years until 1 July 1929

<sup>2</sup> Officially called *Rōdō Tōkei Jitchū Chōsa* (literally "Labour Statistics Investigation") (cf *Legislative Series* 1922, Jap. 1)

and it is principally from this that the figures here used are extracted; the report of the 1930 census is not yet available.

The 1927 labour census covered 7,486 factories employing 1,381,931 workers (629,106 men and 752,825 women) or 72 per cent. of the total factory workers in that year. According to this census, 314,461, or 23 per cent. of the total workers investigated, worked overtime, while 39,181 or 3 per cent. worked less than the regular hours. If these two groups are left out of consideration, 1,020,803 or 74 per cent. of the total workers investigated worked as shown in table XXVI.

TABLE XXVI. — HOURS OF ACTUAL WORK PER DAY  
IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES, OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Factories	Number of persons working regular hours	Average hours of actual work
Textile :		H. M.
Silk filatures	280,949	10 54
Cotton spinning	202,716	9 54
Cotton weaving	63,096	9 54
Silk weaving	35,520	10 18
Wool weaving	25,021	10 00
Others	89,795	— —
Total	697,097	10 18
Ceramics	28,599	9 00
Metal	37,737	9 00
Machine and tool	87,745	8 54
Chemical	37,175	9 12
Paper	16,860	9 00
Leather, bone, etc.	2,515	9 00
Wood and bamboo	16,178	9 12
Food and drink	43,867	9 00
Clothing	19,846	9 12
Construction	10,129	9 00
Printing and bookbinding	13,144	8 42
Artistic, etc.	4,938	9 00
Gas and electricity	2,221	9 30
Others	2,752	8 18
Aggregate total	1,020,803	9 54

(<sup>1</sup>) *Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkokoku*, Oct. 1927, Factories section, Vol. II, p. 516. The expression "hours of actual work" used in this and succeeding tables means hours of work excluding breaks (cf. *Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkokoku*, 1924, Vol. I, p. 40, footnote).

According to this table, while hours of actual work in the textile industry averaged 10 hours 18 minutes a day, those of the next most important industries from the standpoint of the numbers of workers employed, i.e. machine and tool (13 per cent. of the total workers employed in factories), food and drink (9 per

cent.), metal (6 per cent.) and chemical (6 per cent.) ranged from 8 hours 54 minutes in the machine and tool industry to 9 hours 12 minutes in the chemical industry. Japanese industries may thus be divided into two groups as regards working hours: the textile group, and all other industries combined. In the first group, the prevailing hours of work were just under 11 a day in silk filatures, and in cotton spinning and weaving just under 10 hours, while in all the other industries taken together 9 hours were most generally worked. In computing the average hours of work for all industries, the textile group exercises a great influence upon the total average because of the large number of workers involved therein<sup>1</sup>. Thus the average for all industries was raised to 9 hours 54 minutes.

More recent information on hours than that given by the 1927 census is provided by the reports of the monthly statistics of wages and prices published by the Bureau of Statistics of the Imperial Cabinet.

TABLE XXVII. — CHANGES IN HOURS OF ACTUAL WORK  
IN DIFFERENT CLASSES OF FACTORIES, 1926-1930<sup>1</sup>

	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
Textile	10 12	10 04	10 05	9 50	9 32
Ceramics	9 05	8 49	8 53	8 55	8 46
Metal	9 04	9 02	9 03	8 59	8 55
Machine and tool	9 05	9 04	9 01	8 58	8 55
Chemical	9 19	9 15	9 09	9 08	9 01
Paper	10 15	10 05	10 05	10 01	10 00
Leather, bone, etc.	8 23	8 42	8 43	8 45	8 42
Wood and bamboo	9 17	9 03	9 15	9 13	9 08
Food and drink	9 14	9 04	9 03	8 58	8 57
Clothing	9 20	9 02	9 02	9 11	9 03
Construction	8 19	8 07	9 08	9 05	9 31
Printing and book-binding	8 54	8 47	8 56	9 00	9 01
Artistic	8 55	8 57	8 55	8 51	8 43
Gas and electricity	9 14	8 43	8 39	8 37	8 39
Average	9 31	9 24	9 21	9 16	9 08

<sup>1</sup> *Chingin Bukka Fōkei Geppō*, 1927-1930. The figures show average hours of work for the whole year. The investigation covered from 340,000 to 380,000 workers employed in approximately 740 factories.

<sup>1</sup> Silk-reeling, the largest branch of the textile industry, employs 385,435 workers (or 20 per cent. of all Japanese factory workers), cotton spinning has 225,513 workers (or 12 per cent. of the total number employed in factories), and cotton weaving employs 156,563 workers (or 8 per cent. of the total number. (Taken from *Kōjō Tōkei Hyō* (Factory Statistics Tables), 1927, pp. 26-30.)

The available data do not explain the considerable differences between these figures and those of the labour census, but they may be taken as indicating the trend of hours in the various industries. The noticeable fall in the hours of work since 1929 was caused by the abolition of night work in the cotton spinning industry which came into operation on 1 July 1929. By this new arrangement, the actual hours of work in this industry were reduced from ten hours to eight-and-a-half in the day. Hours of work were also reduced in other important industries, such as machine and tool, food and drink, metal and chemical industries.

The Bureau of Social Affairs made an investigation in 1929 of the total hours of some 55,000 persons employed in cement manufacturing, paper manufacturing and other processes in which, for technical reasons, the work is carried on continuously by a succession of shifts. The enquiry showed that about one-third of these undertakings worked with three shifts and the remaining two-thirds generally with two shifts, while about 1,800 persons were employed on alternate days for twenty-four hours in succession. The three shifts were chiefly of eight hours each, though in some cases of nine hours; the two shifts were usually of twelve hours each, but in some cases they were alternating shifts of thirteen hours and eleven hours, or fourteen hours and ten hours. Table XXVIII shows the number of factories and workers classified according to the variety of shifts and industrial groups :

TABLE XXVIII. — SHIFT SYSTEM IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES  
WORKING CONTINUOUSLY, 1930<sup>1</sup>

Factories	Total number of workers investigated	Percentage of workers on		
		2 shifts	3 shifts	Alternative day service
Machine and tool	16,380	32.3	67.4	—
Chemical	21,127	81.2	18.2	0.5
Food and drink	4,028	89.4	1.7	8.4
Gas, electricity, etc.	13,806	61.9	27.9	9.5
Miscellaneous	182	100.0	—	—
Total	55,523	62.6	33.9	3.2

<sup>1</sup> Communication to the International Labour Office from the Tokyo Office in 1930



*Overtime.* — In addition to the general provision in section 8 of the Factory Act permitting the suspension of the provisions relating to hours of work, night work and rest days in cases of emergencies resulting from natural catastrophes, the Act empowers the occupiers of factories to cause overtime to be worked in the following circumstances :

(1) In exceptional emergencies resulting from unavoidable circumstances: in such circumstances the occupier may obtain permission from the administrative authorities for overtime to be worked during a specified period, provided that, in order to prevent the loss of raw materials or goods which deteriorate rapidly, previous permission is not necessary for the extension of hours of work for a period not exceeding four consecutive days or seven days in the month; a report must be made to the authorities if this provision has been applied;

(2) To meet "temporary pressure of work": in this case the occupier may prolong the working day by not more than two hours on not more than seven days in a month; the authorities must be informed in advance;

(3) In "undertakings subject to seasonal pressure": permission may be obtained to extend the day's work by one hour, provided the total number of the days when overtime is worked under this provision does not exceed 120 days in the year.

The amount of overtime worked in Japanese factories covered by the Factory Act is shown in the annual reports of factory inspection. According to these reports, 159 applications were received during 1927, chiefly from cotton-weaving factories in Fukui prefecture, for extensions of from half-an-hour to two hours a day for fifteen to sixty days on the ground of "unavoidable circumstances" (section 8, par. 2, of the Factory Act). The unavoidable circumstances in this instance were damages to the mills by heavy snow. No similar cases were reported in 1928 or 1929.

According to the census of labour of October 1927, out of 1,381,931 factory workers covered by the investigation, overtime was worked by 314,461 or 23 per cent.; its average duration for all industries being 1 hour 18 minutes. In the textile industry, 8 per cent. of the workers worked overtime, while in the food and drink trades and in the chemical industry the percentages were 23 per cent. and 38 per cent. respectively. In the metal industry and the machine and tool industry (where hours of work are shorter than in others) more than 50 per cent. of the workers worked 1½ hours and 1 hour 24 minutes overtime respectively. Table XXIX shows the particulars as given in the census.

TABLE XXIX. — NUMBER OF PERSONS AND HOURS OF OVERTIME  
WORKED IN FACTORIES, OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Industry	Total number of persons investigated	Number of persons working overtime		Hours of overtime worked	
		Number	Per cent.		
Textiles :				H.	M.
Silk filatures	290,702	2,962	1	0	36
Cotton-spinning	229,779	18,364	8	0	42
Cotton-weaving	69,865	5,295	8	0	48
Silk-weaving	38,428	1,589	4	0	42
Wool-weaving	28,721	3,039	11	0	54
Others	127,459	31,397	25	—	—
Total or average	784,954	62,646	8	1	00
Ceramics	42,929	13,553	32	1	18
Metal	85,531	43,690	51	1	30
Machine and tool	196,789	101,546	52	1	24
Chemical	62,044	23,844	38	1	18
Paper	28,923	10,822	37	1	00
Leather, bone, etc.	3,366	685	20	1	06
Wood and bamboo	24,485	7,087	29	0	54
Food and drink	61,195	14,140	23	1	00
Clothing	28,623	8,122	28	1	18
Construction	11,617	1,364	12	1	12
Printing and book- binding	35,419	21,508	61	1	24
Artistic, etc.	6,272	835	13	0	54
Gas and electricity	5,627	3,345	59	1	42
Others	4,157	1,274	31	1	24
Total or average	1,381,931	314,461	23	1	18

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkoku, Oct 1927, Vol II, pp. 516-530

During the last few years the number of permits issued for extensions of working hours up to two hours per day and for seven days in the month, on the ground of temporary pressure of work, have increased as shown below<sup>1</sup>:

	Permits issued
1927 . . . . .	2,745
1928 . . . . .	3,616
1929 . . . . .	6,479
1930 . . . . .	10,152

Most of these permits were issued for the textile industry, particularly the weaving mills, which obtained 6,985 out of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rōdō Jihō, Dec. 1929, p. 15, and Dec. 1930, p. 7.

10,152 permits in 1930. Printing and bookbinding, manufacture of tapes and braids, manufacture of rubber wares, etc., are predominant among other undertakings which have applied for permission to work overtime; the printing and bookbinding industry received 636 permits and the rubber-ware industry 150 permits during 1930.

In "undertakings subject to seasonal pressure" the number of applications for overtime has been small: 16 cases in 1927, 18 in 1928, 15 in 1929 and 13 in 1930.

*Breaks and rest days.* — Young persons under sixteen years of age<sup>1</sup> and women employed in factories are entitled, under section 7 of the Factory Act, to a break of at least thirty minutes if the work exceeds six hours per day, and of at least an hour if the hours of work are more than ten per day. Men also benefit indirectly by this regulation, for in almost all factories the breaks are general. In most cases the statutory hour's rest is divided into three periods of half-an-hour at noon, and fifteen minutes at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. respectively.

According to the report of the census of labour of 1927, the average length of the breaks for 71 per cent. of the total factory workers covered by the census varied from fifty-one minutes to one hour a day, for 10.2 per cent. it was more than one hour, while for 18.5 per cent. it was under fifty minutes. In the textile industry, where hours of work were longer than in others, the average length of the breaks exceeded fifty minutes a day, while in the printing and bookbinding industry 54.2 per cent. of the workers were granted a break of only half-an-hour. In the metal trades 29.5 per cent., and in the machine and tool industries 34.9 per cent., of the workers also had less than half-an-hour's rest in the day. Table XXX shows the length of the breaks in the various industries covered by the labour census of 1927.

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<sup>1</sup> Fifteen years until 1 July 1929.

TABLE XXX. — LENGTH OF REST PERIOD PER DAY IN FACTORIES,  
OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Factories	Total number of workers investigated	Workers having specified length of rest periods per day as percentage of total						
		Up to 30 m.	31 to 40 m.	41 to 50 m.	51 m. to 1 h.	1 h. 1 m. to 1 h. 30 m.	1 h. 31 m. to 2 h.	More than 2 h.
Textiles								
Silk filatures	290,702	—	—	—	81.5	17.2	1.3	—
Cotton spinning	229,779	—	—	0.6	96.7	1.5	0.7	—
Cotton weaving	69,865	—	—	—	94.8	2.8	1.7	—
Silk weaving	38,428	0.7	—	0.7	91.3	6.1	1.1	—
Wool weaving	28,721	—	—	0.5	98.4	0.8	—	—
Others	127,459	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	784,954	0.1	—	1.1	87.9	8.7	1.3	—
Ceramics	42,929	11.6	—	2.2	58.8	14.2	9.9	2.5
Metal	85,531	29.5	2.2	7.5	56.4	3.9	—	—
Machine and tool	196,789	34.9	12.2	24.4	26.5	1.9	—	—
Chemical	62,044	15.5	4.5	8.7	62.3	7.0	1.9	—
Paper	28,923	0.5	—	0.7	81.1	10.1	3.2	3.9
Leather, bone, etc.	3,366	14.5	—	7.6	61.5	16.4	—	—
Wood and bamboo	24,485	8.4	2.0	5.3	54.1	20.9	9.0	—
Food and drink	61,195	5.2	—	1.3	76.2	10.3	4.7	2.0
Clothing	28,623	5.0	1.3	1.1	55.6	30.4	6.6	—
Construction	11,617	8.0	2.8	6.8	53.5	24.2	3.9	—
Printing and bookbinding	35,419	54.2	3.3	9.7	27.6	3.6	1.3	—
Artistic, etc.	6,272	11.8	3.8	0.1	74.7	8.8	—	—
Gas and electricity	5,627	22.5	1.5	0.9	51.5	19.4	0.7	1.0
Others	4,157	3.0	1.6	15.2	42.0	31.6	5.6	—
Aggregate total	1,381,931	10.3	2.6	5.6	71.0	8.4	1.8	—

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Jitchū Chōsa Hōkoku (Census), Oct. 1927, Vol. II, pp. 304-305.

Under the Factory Act, the employer is compelled to grant the breaks to all workers concerned at the same time, and not by rotation as had been previously permitted. All work must stop during the rest period and machinery must not be left in operation. If it is difficult for the whole staff to stop work simultaneously because of the process employed or the limited space in the dining-room, special permission must be obtained for the introduction of a special arrangement (section 7 of the Act). According to the factory inspection reports there were 40 applications in 1927 under this provision, 30 in 1928, 324 in 1929 and 67 in 1930. The sudden increase in 1929 of applications from the textile mills may perhaps be put down to the changes made in the shifts in the course of this year.

The suspension of breaks is not recognised by law under any circumstance, except in the case of a natural calamity; the

compulsory break is included in the legal hours of work. In summer, if the break is lengthened beyond the statutory period, the employer may obtain permission to increase the working day by the excess of the break over one hour, provided that the hours of work are not extended by more than one hour in all. Under this provision, 1,008 applications were received during 1929, and 1,438 in 1930, of which 694 came from silk filatures and 280 from cotton-weaving mills.

As regards rest days, the Factory Act lays down that women and young persons under sixteen years of age must be granted at least two days a month. The Washington Hours Convention made provision in the special Article for Japan (Article 9) for a weekly rest day of twenty-four consecutive hours for all classes of workers. This Convention, however, has not been ratified by Japan, and there is no Japanese legislation prescribing a weekly rest day. Nor is the weekly rest customary in Japan. Public institutions such as Government and municipal offices or schools, and some private establishments, such as banks, etc., close on one day in the week, but most of the industrial and commercial houses still retain the old custom of giving two holidays a month usually on the first and fifteenth day of the month or on the first and third Sunday. In addition to these rest days, they also grant several holidays, chiefly on New Year's Day and in midsummer at the time of the Buddhist festival *Bon*.

As a general rule, all the workers in an undertaking are granted the rest day at the same time, but in electricity and gas plants and in many of the silk filatures, the workers are usually obliged to take the rest days in rotation. A good many factories observe national holidays or fix the regular holidays so that they fall on national holidays. Moreover, there is a tendency on the part of many factories to take advantage of Sundays or holidays as a means of reducing production when business is slack. Table XXXI shows the number of rest days per month observed in different branches of industry in 1927.

Table XXXI shows that while the majority of cotton spinners enjoyed a weekly rest<sup>1</sup>, over 80 per cent. of the silk reelers and

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<sup>1</sup> Under the supplementary provisions of the Factory Act it was compulsory to grant four rest days a month to women and young persons under fifteen years of age employed in factories working two or more shifts and where the abolition of night work was postponed until 1 July 1929.

TABLE XXXI. — REST DAYS PER MONTH IN DIFFERENT FACTORIES,  
OCTOBER 1927 <sup>1</sup>

Factories	Total number of workers investigated	Workers having various numbers of rest days per month as percentage of total workers in respective industries			
		1 day	2 days	3 days	4 days or more
Textiles :					
Silk filatures	290,702	—	89.9	8.2	1.9
Cotton spinnin	229,779	—	3.0	2.2	94.8
Cotton-weaving	69,865	—	80.3	2.6	16.8
Silk-weaving	38,428	—	81.3	4.6	14.1
Wool-weaving	28,721	—	42.5	8.5	49.0
Others	127,459	—	—	—	—
Total	784,954	—	54.1	5.7	40.2
Ceramics	42,929	5.1	65.1	4.4	3.8
Metal	85,531	0.3	35.2	35.8	27.7
Machine and tool	196,789	0.2	17.7	3.5	77.2
Chemical	62,044	3.6	55.4	4.3	35.2
Paper	28,923	3.2	76.6	5.0	15.1
Leather, bone, etc.	3,366	—	62.3	—	37.7
Wood and bamboo	24,485	0.2	80.8	6.7	12.2
Food and drink	61,195	2.8	35.7	7.5	52.4
Clothing	28,623	0.1	52.0	3.8	44.1
Construction	11,617	1.6	78.3	2.9	2.0
Printing and book-binding	35,419	0.8	29.7	6.6	62.6
Artistic, etc.	6,272	—	48.1	—	51.9
Gas and electricity	5,627	11.4	67.8	19.4	1.4
Others	4,157	—	39.2	5.5	50.7
Aggregate total	1,381,931	0.7	47.8	7.2	43.7

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Jitchū Chōsa Hōkoku, Oct. 1927, Vol II, pp 312-318.

weavers in the cotton and silk mills had only two days' rest in a month. In a heavy industry such as the metal trade it is noteworthy that only 27.7 per cent. of the workers had a day's rest every week; the remainder were given two to three days' rest in the month. In 1927 nearly half the factories covered by the census (47.8 per cent.) gave their workers two days' rest in the month; while 43.7 per cent. enjoyed four rest days in the month. Although in recent years, as already pointed out, a gradual reduction in the average hours of actual work has been taking place, table XXXII shows that the average number of working days per month is almost stationary in all factories.

TABLE XXXII. — AVERAGE WORKING DAYS PER MONTH  
IN VARIOUS FACTORIES, 1926-1930<sup>1</sup>

Factories	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Textiles	26.8	26.9	26.7	27.1	26.7
Ceramics	27.4	27.6	27.6	27.4	27.1
Metal	26.6	26.7	26.8	26.6	26.2
Machine and tool	26.3	26.0	25.9	26.0	25.6
Chemical	27.0	26.8	26.6	26.6	26.5
Paper	27.5	27.3	27.6	27.4	26.6
Leather, bone, etc.	26.8	26.6	27.0	26.6	26.3
Wood and bamboo	26.9	27.0	27.0	27.0	26.5
Food and drink	27.9	27.5	27.3	27.6	27.5
Clothing	26.6	26.0	26.0	26.2	25.8
Construction	27.8	27.3	27.4	27.6	27.1
Printing and bookbinding	27.5	27.4	27.4	27.1	26.8
Artistic, etc.	25.0	24.7	25.9	25.7	25.1
Gas and electricity	29.3	29.2	29.3	29.2	29.6
Average	27.1	26.9	26.8	26.9	26.5

<sup>1</sup> *Chingun Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, 1927-1931

During 1930, especially in the cotton-spinning mills, more factories granted weekly rest, for, on account of the severe trade depression in that year, the Cotton Spinners' Association found it necessary to limit the output of its member mills by sealing their spindles. This inevitably aggravated unemployment among mill operatives, and under the pressure of public opinion and encouraged by the Government, the producers adopted the weekly rest to relieve the unemployment situation<sup>1</sup>.

*Night work.* — Under section 4 of the Factory Act the employment of young persons under sixteen years of age<sup>2</sup> and of women is prohibited from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. The employment of such persons until 11 p.m. is, however, permitted with the sanction of the administrative authorities, and almost all cotton spinners have sought permission to use this exception. Table XXXIII shows the number of factories and of young persons under fifteen years of age and women engaged in night work before the prohibition of night work came into force; the number

<sup>1</sup> *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. XXXV, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> This age was fifteen until 1 July 1929, when the application of the prohibition of night work for women and young persons was also put into effect.

of young persons and women represented some 17 per cent. of the total number employed in privately controlled industries.

TABLE XXXIII. — NUMBER OF FACTORIES AND PROTECTED WORKERS ENGAGED IN NIGHT WORK, 1928<sup>1</sup>

Industry	Factories	Number of workers		
		Boys under 15	Women	Total
Textiles :				
Cotton-spinning	219	610	131,427	132,037
Cotton-weaving	149	137	31,049	31,186
Others	48	45	3,661	3,706
Total	416	792	166,137	166,929
Machine and tool	2	1	3	4
Chemical	31	43	1,407	1,450
Food and drink	2	—	16	16
Miscellaneous	5	8	265	273
Total	456	844	167,828	168,672

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1928, p. 107

### Mines

*Hours of work.* — The provisions relating to miners' hours of work were originally almost identical with those of the Factory Act, but an amendment to the Miners' Regulations, made in 1928, fixed ten hours as the maximum working day for all miners underground; this provision was applied from 1 September 1930, and was the first instance of the legal regulation of the hours of work of men<sup>1</sup>.

For underground work, the Regulations of 1926 limited the working hours of women and young workers under sixteen years of age to eight where the temperature is above 30° C., and prohibited their employment altogether in any place underground where the temperature is above 35° C. The amended Regulations of 1928 entirely forbid the employment of these workers in underground work as from 1 September 1933, except when authorised by the administrative authorities to work in coal mines where coal seams are thin. There is no general limitation of the hours of work above ground; the hours of women and of young persons

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part III, Chapter I, p. 144.



under sixteen years of age may not exceed eleven in the day, including a break of one hour of rest.

Various exceptions are permitted by the Regulations : the limitation of hours to ten does not apply to miners chiefly employed in watching or in intermittent work ; in case of necessity caused by an "actual or imminent disaster or any other unavoidable cause" the employer is allowed to employ any miner, subject to the permission of the Chief of the Mines Inspection Bureau and for a prescribed period, irrespective of the limitations prescribed regarding hours of work, rest periods, etc.

As regards the actual hours of work<sup>1</sup>, the only figures available are those of the 1927 census of labour. This census covered 313 mines employing altogether 277,263 persons or about 94 per cent. of the total miners in that year. Of this number, 215,665 were men and 61,598 women ; 193,332 were employed underground and 83,931 on the surface. Of the total miners investigated, 57,684 or about 21 per cent. worked overtime, 1,062, or less than 2 per cent., worked less than the regular hours. Leaving these two groups out of consideration, 218,517, or 77 per cent. of the total miners covered by the census, worked as follows :

TABLE XXXIV. — NUMBER OF DAILY HOURS OF WORK IN MINES,  
OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Mines	Number of persons working regular hours	Average hours of work	
		H.	M.
Underground			
Coal	157,112	9	00
Metal	10,741	7	30
Oil	—	—	—
Other	489	7	30
Total or average	168,342	8	54
Surface			
Coal	36,177	9	48
Metal	10,984	6	54
Oil	1,496	9	06
Others	948	9	00
Total or average	49,605	9	06

<sup>1</sup> *Rūdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkokoku*, Oct. 1927, Vol. IV. pp. 54-55

<sup>1</sup> "Actual hours of work" as used here should be understood to mean the "hours of attendance", and in the case of underground work the term applies to the hours computed from the time the miner enters the cage in order to descend until he or she leaves the cage after reascending

The table shows that the hours of work were longest, both underground and on the surface, in coal mines, where 89 per cent. of all miners were employed at the end of 1927. More than 67 per cent. of all the miners in coal and other mines were engaged in underground work. As in mining operations in other countries, the hours of work were generally shorter underground than on the surface, the average for miners in the workings being 8 hours 54 minutes, and for surface workers 9 hours 6 minutes.

*Overtime.* — The average time worked in excess of regular hours by the 57,684 persons found to have worked overtime was 1 hour 6 minutes underground, and 1 hour 12 minutes above ground. Particulars are given in table XXXV.

TABLE XXXV. — OVERTIME WORKED IN MINES, OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Mines	Total number of persons investigated	Number of persons working overtime		Number of hours of overtime work per day
		Number	Per cent	
Underground :				H. M.
Coal	175,192	17,463	10.0	1 12
Metal	17,465	6,170	35.4	1 00
Oil	—	—	—	—
Others	675	184	27.5	0 42
Total	193,332	23,817	12.3	1 06
Surface :				
Coal	58,288	21,952	37.7	1 12
Metal	20,621	9,342	45.3	1 12
Oil	3,709	2,208	59.7	0 54
Others	1,313	365	27.8	1 18
Total	83,931	33,867	40.3	1 12

*Breaks and rest days.* — The Regulations for the employment and relief of miners provide, as in the case of the Factory Act, that persons under sixteen years of age and women shall have a break of at least thirty minutes if a day's work exceeds six hours, and of at least one hour if it exceeds ten hours.

The census of labour of 1927 shows that in coal mines 53.3 per cent. of the miners working underground had a break ranging from fifty-one minutes to one hour in the day, 19.1 per

cent. less than fifty minutes, while 2.5 per cent. had no break at all. In metal mines, 55.9 per cent. of the underground workers also had fifty-one minutes to an hour's break, but 35 per cent. less than half-an-hour. Table XXXVI sets out in detail the situation in coal, metal, oil and other mines.

TABLE XXXVI. — LENGTH OF REST PERIODS PER DAY IN MINES,  
OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Mines	Total number of miners investigated	Miners having specified length of rest per day as percentage of total							
		None	Less than 30 m.	31-40 m.	41-50 m.	51 m. to 1 hr.	1 h. to 1 1/2 h.	1 h. to 2 h.	more than 2 h.
Underground :									
Coal	175,192	2.5	11.4	6.1	1.6	53.3	7.5	12.6	5.0
Metal	17,465	—	35.3	—	3.3	55.9	5.5	—	—
Oil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Others	675	—	—	—	—	38.4	20.2	41.3	—
Total	193,332	2.3	13.5	5.4	1.8	53.5	7.4	11.6	4.5
Surface :									
Coal	58,288	—	8.4	5.3	11.6	59.6	11.4	3.0	0.5
Metal	20,621	—	4.4	—	16.5	64.5	14.6	—	—
Oil	3,709	—	—	—	—	94.4	—	—	5.6
Others	1,313	—	—	23.1	—	62.1	3.0	11.8	—
Total	83,931	—	7.0	4.1	12.1	62.4	11.5	2.3	0.6

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkoku, 1927, Vol. IV, pp 10-11.

In respect of rest days, while the Regulations only prescribe two days in the month for women and young persons under sixteen years of age and contain no provisions in regard to rest days for men, the actual situation is more favourable in mines<sup>1</sup> than in factories. According to the census of labour of 1927, two or three rest days per month were usually granted in metal mines, four in coal mines and oil fields, and two in other mines.

On an average, 88 per cent. of the total miners employed underground were given four or more rest days per month, while 65.3 per cent. of surface workers had four or more days, as shown in table XXXVII.

<sup>1</sup> It was compulsory under the Regulations of 1916 and the amended Regulations of 1926 to grant four rest days in the month to women and young persons employed at night in mines in virtue of the exception for mines working with two or more shifts.

TABLE XXXVII. — NUMBER OF REST DAYS PER MONTH IN MINES,  
OCTOBER 1927<sup>1</sup>

Mines	Number of persons investigated	Miners having different numbers of rest days per month as percentage of total workers in respective groups			
		1 day of rest	2 days of rest	3 days of rest	4 days or more of rest
Underground :					
Coal	175,192	—	1.8	2.3	95.9
Metal	17,465	5.2	53.8	28.5	12.5
Oil	—	—	—	—	—
Others	675	—	100.0	—	—
Total	193,332	0.5	6.9	4.6	88.0
Surface :					
Coal	58,288	—	2.1	4.5	93.4
Metal	20,621	14.0	43.9	40.1	1.9
Oil	3,709	—	78.0	20.0	—
Others	1,313	—	100.0	—	—
Total	83,931	3.4	17.3	14.0	65.3

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkoku, Vol IV, pp. 12-13, Oct 1927.

*Night work.* — The Miners' Regulations of 1916 prohibited the employment of women and of young persons under fifteen years of age during the hours between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. This prohibition did not apply if the miners worked alternately in two or more shifts, provided that the women and young persons employed at night changed shifts at intervals not exceeding ten days. By the amending Ordinance of 1926 these provisions were changed by the substitution of "5 a.m." for "4 a.m." and "sixteen years of age" for "fifteen years of age"; the extension of the prohibited night period came into force on 1 July 1926, the raising of the age of young persons on 1 July 1929.

These provisions were further amended by the Ordinance of 1 September 1928, which abolishes the exception permitting the employment of women and of young persons under sixteen years of age between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. where work is organised in two or more shifts as from 1 September 1933. After this date, however, it will be possible to employ any miner until 11 p.m. where two or more shifts are worked, subject to the permission of the Chief of the Mines Inspection Bureau. It will also be possible, subject to permission by the same authority, to employ

women and young persons under sixteen years of age until 12 p.m. in coal-sorting at the surface in one of two alternating shifts ; such persons may not, however, be employed on the next day before 6 a.m. Finally, where the workers are employed in coal-sorting at the surface in one of three or more alternating shifts, it will be possible, subject to the permission of the Chief of the Mines Inspection Bureau, to employ them at night for a specified period.

*Transport and Postal, Telegraph and  
Telephone Services*

The Government publishes monthly statistics of the hours of work in transport and postal, telegraph and telephone services. Hours of work in these services are not regulated by law.

TABLE XXXVIII. — DAILY HOURS OF WORK AND REST DAYS PER MONTH  
IN TRANSPORT AND POSTAL, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES,  
SEPTEMBER 1930<sup>1</sup>

Items	Hours of work	Rest hours	Actual hours of work	Rest days
	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	Days
Postal, telegraph and telephone	8 35	1 07	7 28	3.7
Transport :				
Railways	13 10	1 58	11 12	5.0
Tramways	11 08	2 06	9 02	5.9
Motor-buses	8 18	1 15	7 03	3.8
Navigation	11 14	2 44	8 30	4.5
Average	11 48	2 03	9 45	5.0

<sup>1</sup> *Chunjin Bukku Tōkei Geppō*, Dec 1930, p. 17

## CHAPTER III

### WAGES AND COST OF LIVING

#### *Legal Provisions*

Legislation in respect of wages is limited in Japan to certain general provisions for the protection of wages in the Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure, and various provisions in the factory and mining laws and regulations regarding the nature and periodicity of payments, savings funds, etc.

The Civil Code recognises the priority of wages over other liabilities in the event of the bankruptcy of the employer. Wages which have become due during the six months preceding bankruptcy are a first charge on the assets of the employer up to a maximum sum of 50 yen. The Code also gives workers the right to dispose of articles produced by them to meet their claims for the last three months' wages; this right, however, cannot be exercised if the articles in question have been mortgaged or pawned because the creditors' right over mortgaged or pawned articles takes precedence of the workers' claim. The Code of Civil Procedure lays down that wages cannot be seized in distraint unless they amount to more than 300 yen per year; should a worker's income exceed 300 yen per year, one-half of the amount exceeding 300 yen may be seized. In view of the changed economic conditions it is recognised that these old provisions of the Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure no longer provide sufficient protection to wages and that their revision is desirable; and it has been proposed that this revision should be made by special legislation.

The principle that wages should be paid in cash at least once a month is laid down in both the mining and factory legislation. Section 78 of the Mining Act of 1905 provides that "the holder of the mining right shall pay wages in cash to any miner at least once a month on a definite day". The Ordinance for the

Administration of the Factory Act (section 22) states that "wages shall be payable at least once a month in cash". An exception to the rule is, however, permitted by the Factory Ordinance, section 24 of which provides that official consent may be obtained to a scheme whereby "some other grant for their (the workers') benefit is made in lieu of a part of their wages".

The Factory Ordinance also permits part of the wages to be retained as savings on behalf of the workers. In this case, the law requires that the employer shall establish a reliable scheme for the administration of the savings fund and obtain the sanction of the administrative authorities in advance.

It is further provided in the Factory Ordinance that wages and savings must be paid without delay upon the request of a person who is entitled to make such a claim, in case of discharge or death of the worker, or in other circumstances prescribed by the Minister of the Interior<sup>1</sup>. The factory occupier, however, is authorised to retain his own contributions to a worker's savings if the worker is dismissed for a breach of the contract of employment or in consequence of an act for which the worker is held responsible.

It is illegal for an employer to make a contract of employment which infringes these provisions of the Factory Ordinance or fixes in advance either the sum payable to the employer for breach of contract or the amount of indemnity for damage.

Some provision is made both in the mining and factory legislation for the methods of payment of wages to be brought to the knowledge of the workers. The Miners' Regulations (section 1) stipulate that the rules of employment must mention "the method of payment of wages and the days for payment", while the Factory Regulations (section 12*bis*) provide that the employer "shall make clear to the worker, before the latter begins work, his or her rate of wages and how to calculate them". Under the Ordinance respecting the recruiting of workers, the recruiter must submit to the prefectural Governor, who has jurisdiction over the area where the recruitment is to be conducted, a draft contract of employment containing, *inter alia*, particulars as regards wages. Finally, employers are also

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<sup>1</sup> In virtue of this provision, the worker is entitled to the payment of savings in case he or she returns home for more than a month, or is in need of money because of illness or childbirth, or for a wedding ceremony or funeral.

under a legal obligation to keep a record of the payment of wages to each worker.

### *Current Methods of Wage Payment*

Few collective agreements have been concluded in Japan, where, as previous chapters have shown, only some 7 per cent. of factory, mining, transport and casual workers are organised. A report of the Bureau of Social Affairs<sup>1</sup> published in 1930 states that there were in existence forty-nine collective agreements, covering approximately 110,000 workers or about one-third of those organised, and of whom 100,000 were seamen. The wages of other workers are in most cases fixed by individual bargaining.

In considering wages in Japan it is particularly important to take account, not only of the basic wage, but also of such supplementary wages as overtime pay, special allowances, bonuses and the payment of remuneration in kind. The payment of supplementary wages is extensively practised in Japan and they constitute an indispensable part of the workers' earnings. According to section 1 of the Ordinance for the administration of the Health Insurance Act, wages include the "payments and other benefits received regularly or periodically". "Living-out allowances" (*tsūkin téaté*) to workers living outside the factory gates and advantages in respect of living accommodation or rent do not enter into account in determining the amount of wages. Bonuses or allowances granted at intervals exceeding three months must also be excluded in computing wages<sup>2</sup>.

Statistical information indicating the incidence of various methods of wage payment in Japan is not available, but the information shows that *basic wages* may be divided generally into time rates, piece rates and contract rates.

*Time rates* are rarely based on the hour; the Shōyu brewery factories in Hyogo prefecture are an example of this method, which is also practised in certain divisions of the machine and tool, metal, shipbuilding and chemical industries.

On the other hand, daily rates are so general in Japan that the term *Chingin* (wages) usually refers to daily wages while *Hōkiu* (salary) refers to monthly payments. In many factories where daily rates are paid the system is in reality one of task

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, Aug. 1930

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 4 (c).



work, the rates of pay increasing with the output in excess of the amount assigned to each worker for the day. Daily rates are also frequently subject to deductions if the worker arrives late or leaves his work before the hour fixed. In silk filatures, however, where workers are rarely paid under the daily wage system, deductions are not made from earnings if the workers stop work early.

The payment of weekly wages is uncommon ; and monthly wages are paid only where it is difficult to reckon the work on a time basis. In some seasonal industries, workers are paid by the season. Men working in paper mills are often paid a so-called yearly wage for a period lasting about ten months in the year. In small cotton-weaving factories and silk filatures in rural districts, the operatives, for the most part young girls, are sometimes employed on a long contract lasting two or three years and occasionally even longer, concluded between the employer and the workers' parents who are in need of money. In such cases, wages are often fixed in advance for the whole period of the contract, a portion being paid to the parents at the time of engagement. These advances or loans are refunded every year out of the workers' earnings.

The *piece-rate* system is extensively practised, especially in the textile industry, and various methods have been devised in order to encourage the increase of output or improvement in quality. Complicated systems of piece rates increasing with the amount of output in excess of a standard quantity have been introduced — systems so complicated that in silk filatures, for instance, they are said to be often beyond the comprehension of the uneducated girl operatives. In this industry, the daily standard volume of work is predetermined for the worker, and bonuses are granted or penalties inflicted according to the variations from the standard, the ratio of the net product to a given amount of material, its lustre, evenness, *denier*, etc. The worker's earnings are her standard wage plus the bonus or minus the penalty, as the case may be, and often the penalty is so high that the worker may receive a very small wage. The standard wages are raised or lowered according to the materials, season and market prices. The administrative authorities are reported to be encouraging the establishment of minimum wages in this industry.

The *contract wage* system is found in some industries, and especially in mines, where it is considered a convenient method

for supervising the workers, simplifying the method of wage payment and accelerating the speed of work. Contracts are individual or collective, or are made by a middleman. Under the individual contract system, a worker contracts to do a definite amount of work for a definite sum, while under a collective contract it is a group of workers which undertakes a fixed task for a fixed price. In the latter case the wages are paid to the group collectively and are divided among the workers, usually at varying rates as previously agreed upon. When an employment contract is concluded through a middleman, wages are paid to this agent who distributes them among the workers after deducting his commission fees.

*Supplementary wages* include overtime wages, allowances, bonuses, and material or other supplies.

Workers on daily or piece rates usually receive extra wages for overtime worked before or after the regular working hours or on holidays. They are generally paid at progressive rates which are applied from the beginning or some time after the commencement of overtime work. According to the report of the labour census of 1927, out of the 1,381,931 factory workers investigated, 314,461, or 23 per cent., worked overtime for 1 hour 18 minutes on the average on the day the investigation was made. The average wage per worker was 2.31 yen a day, as compared with 1.19 yen paid to those who worked no overtime. It is impossible to calculate from these two figures an average overtime rate or the percentage of overtime wages in relation to regular wages, but it is obvious that overtime pay constitutes an important part of the wages of workers in factories and in mines.

Foremen or those entrusted with special duties such as the supervision of workers are often paid monthly *allowances*. During the war, special allowances were also granted to workers in most of the factories on account of the abnormal rise in the cost of living.

It is an almost universal custom in Japanese industry to grant *bonuses*: regular or full attendance bonuses, annual or or half-yearly bonuses and bonuses for long or specially useful services<sup>1</sup>. The regular or full-attendance bonus is usually equal

<sup>1</sup> The "discharge allowance" has been discussed above (cf. pp. 170-173). The special services for which bonuses are given include inventions or improvements in manufacturing processes, prevention of waste or accident, saving life and property, etc.

to one to three days' wages per month and is paid with the wages, though in mines a small daily bonus, usually of less than 15 sen, is common. Annual bonuses, paid at the end of the year, or half-yearly bonuses, paid at the end of July and December, vary in amount with the state of trade, the value of the worker's services, and length of service.

In some cases, the bonus system has developed into a form of *profit-sharing*. In 1928, the Japan Industrial Club, an employers' organisation, made an investigation which showed that, out of 430 selected establishments, 42, or nearly 10 per cent., had introduced profit-sharing<sup>1</sup>. In most of these undertakings, however, the worker had not a right to a share in the profits, the grant being made or withheld at will by the employer. The system would appear, therefore, to be more accurately described as "a bonus system based on profits".

Money wages are supplemented in a large proportion of Japanese factories and mines by material supplies, a system which may be described as part payment of *wages in kind*. According to the labour census report of 1927 (see table XXXIX), out of the 7,486 factories investigated, with a labour force of 1,374,836 workers, 4,370 factories with 776,859 workers (or 58 per cent. of the factories and 57 per cent. of the workers) paid wages partly in kind. In the textile industry 86 per cent. of the workers received part of their wages in kind; almost all the silk filatures and cotton-spinning factories investigated paid their workers on a system of money wages combined with wages in kind<sup>2</sup>. The percentage was higher in mines than in factories, wages in kind being paid in 87 per cent., employing 67 per cent. of the total miners investigated.

The most important forms of payment in kind are dormitory or housing accommodation, including sometimes light and fuel, rice and other food and clothing. The average cost of these items per worker per day ranged in 1927 from 6 sen in the leather and ivory industries to 20 sen in textile industries as a whole (28 sen in silk filatures, 14 sen in cotton-spinning factories, 17 sen in

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<sup>1</sup> *Honpō Kōgyō ni okeru Riyeki Bunpai narabini Ruiji Seido ni kansuru chōsa* (An Enquiry into Profit-Sharing or Analogous Systems in Japan). Published by the Japan Industrial Club, 1930. 86,241 persons, of whom 8,291 were staff, 77,250 workers and 700 unclassified, were covered by the enquiry.

<sup>2</sup> In these industries, employers find it convenient to accommodate workers (most of them young girls recruited in remote parts of the country) in dormitories, with such supplies as are necessary for daily life.

cotton-weaving mills). The average figure for all the industries was 19 sen, this being greatly influenced by the textile figures; in mines, the estimated cost was 9 sen in coal mines, with an average of 10 sen for all mines. The results of the 1927 labour census are given in table XXXIX; this table reveals the interesting fact that the average daily wages for all the industries covered was higher in the factories which did not supplement money wages by material supplies, i.e. 1.93 yen as against 1.28 yen, while in mines the situation was the reverse, i.e. 1.52 yen as against 1.88 yen.

TABLE XXXIX. — AVERAGE DAILY WAGES  
WHERE WAGES WERE PAID WHOLLY IN MONEY,  
OR PARTLY IN MONEY AND PARTLY IN KIND, 1927<sup>1</sup>

Industry	Undertakings paying wages wholly in money			Undertakings paying wages partly in kind				
	Number of undertakings	Number of workers	Average daily wages	Number of undertakings	Number of workers	Average daily wages		
						Money wages	Average cost of material supplies	Total wages
(1) <i>Factories</i>								
Textiles :			Yen			Yen	Yen	Yen
Silk-reeling	8	11,961	0.81	988	277,466	0.69	0.28	0.98
Cotton-spinning	1	15,892	1.24	169	212,519	1.13	0.14	1.27
Silk-spinning	1	203	1.08	25	30,506	1.04	0.16	1.20
Cotton-weaving	242	27,693	0.96	551	42,011	0.94	0.17	1.11
Silk-weaving	103	13,015	0.91	407	25,170	0.84	0.20	1.04
Wool-weaving	4	1,545	1.39	91	24,068	1.22	0.13	1.35
Others	281	39,230	—	505	56,966	—	—	—
Total	640	112,541	1.13	2,739	668,706	0.94	0.20	1.14
Ceramics	153	30,313	1.71	250	12,561	1.85	0.18	2.03
Metal	301	70,502	2.11	166	11,172	2.52	0.16	2.68
Machine and tool	476	171,847	2.58	201	20,492	2.42	0.10	2.52
Chemical	271	46,238	1.64	219	15,507	1.79	0.12	1.91
Paper	133	22,021	1.43	65	6,847	1.79	0.18	1.97
Leather, ivory, etc.	31	2,741	1.90	12	609	3.03	0.06	3.09
Wood and bamboo	222	16,118	1.05	214	8,301	1.91	0.10	2.01
Food and drink	148	15,656	1.49	252	15,241	1.65	0.19	1.84
Clothing, etc.	195	22,995	1.46	81	5,199	1.27	0.10	1.37
Civil engineering, construction	115	11,070	2.41	15	512	2.35	0.16	2.51
Printing and book-binding	338	31,308	2.09	65	1,043	2.19	0.07	2.26
Artistic, etc.	56	5,693	1.65	20	519	1.43	0.17	1.60
Gas and electricity	10	2,262	2.23	53	3,353	2.59	0.10	2.69
Others	27	3,672	1.57	18	461	1.93	0.07	2.00
Total or average	3,116	597,977	1.93	4,370	776,859	1.09	0.19	1.28
(2) <i>Mines</i>								
Coal	37	80,124	1.51	166	152,811	1.79	0.09	1.88
Metal	5	7,381	1.55	83	30,686	1.74	0.15	1.89
Oil	—	1,925	1.51	13	1,779	1.94	0.12	2.06
Others	—	571	1.61	9	1,116	2.19	0.10	2.29
Total or average	42	90,001	1.52	271	186,692	1.78	0.10	1.88

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Tōkei Jitchū Chōsa Hōkoku, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 532-578, and Vol. IV, p. 58

As regards frequency of wage payments, the annual factory inspection report for 1928 states that wages are paid once or twice a month in most Japanese factories. Factories paying wages three times a month or on a weekly basis are very rare. Statistics for the country as a whole are not available, but the following figures reported by the prefecture of Kanagawa may be considered to reflect the general situation.

TABLE XI. — NUMBER OF FACTORIES PAYING WAGES AT SPECIFIED INTERVALS IN KANAGAWA PREFECTURE, 1928<sup>1</sup>

Industry	Once a month	Twice a month <sup>2</sup>	Three times a month	Weekly	Total
Textiles	71	39	1	7	118
Machine and tool	22	23	—	2	47
Metal	23	39	—	11	73
Ceramics	11	7	—	—	18
Non-alcoholic drinks	16	4	—	—	20
Wood and bamboo	52	67	—	2	121
Electricity	56	—	—	—	56
All others	46	36	—	6	88
	297	215	1	28	541

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpo*, 1928, p. 52

<sup>2</sup> Usually on the 15th and the last day of each month.

According to this table, out of the 541 factories investigated, 55 per cent. paid wages once a month, mostly at the end of the month, 40 per cent. made payments twice a month, and only 5 per cent. paid wages weekly.

The legal provision that wages must be paid at least once a month has the effect of preventing any undue delay in payment, but the law has but little influence on the *loan system*, which is really a system of advances on wages that results in virtually depriving many workers of their individual liberty<sup>1</sup>. No recent statistics are available showing the present extent of the loan system. The Tokyo Local Employment Exchange Board made an enquiry into the employment conditions of young girls in 1,204 silk filatures within its administration in 1924. According to this study, loans had been made by the employers against the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part IV, Chapter I, pp. 163-164.

wages of 135,822 workers, or 80.5 per cent. of the 168,614 workers covered by the enquiry; only 24,578 or 18 per cent. of these workers had borrowed money for their own needs, all the rest having been borrowed for the families. The amount of loans per head ranged from 1 yen to 480 yen, the average amount being 31.31 yen, which was equivalent to 2.4 months' wages on the basis of the worker's average wage of 156.20 yen per year. In 1928, the average indebtedness among girls employed in silk filatures in Yamanashi Prefecture was 23.49 yen<sup>1</sup>.

The evils of the loan system are now widely recognised in Japan. Under this system, the girls under a debt are virtually obliged to stay with the same employer until the loan is liquidated. "Most of the parents who have asked for one loan demand others, so that the girls have no opportunity of earning wages for their own use. In order to meet this difficulty, they are willing to do overtime work at rates far lower than those for regular work."<sup>2</sup> "There are many young girls who work without knowing how their loans are liquidated or even without the knowledge of exactly how much they are being paid."<sup>3</sup> These evils are only partly mitigated by the application of the law requiring employers to keep a monthly account of the wages earned by each worker and that all workers should be informed exactly of the method of payment and the rates of their wages.

### *Actual Wages*

The sources of information here used are the report of the 1927 labour census and the monthly report on wages and prices published by the Bureau of Statistics of the Japanese Cabinet. Average wages computed from these two sources show considerable differences as the census is conducted on a wide scale, covering both big undertakings and a large number of small factories and mines where the actual hours are longer and the wages lower than in the more important establishments<sup>4</sup>, while the Monthly Report covers only representative factories and

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1928, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, Dec. 1928, pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Kannai Seishi Jokō Chōsa* (published by the Tokyo Local Employment Exchange Board), p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> In 1927 the census of labour covered 1,381,931 workers employed in 7,486 factories and 277,263 miners in 313 mines.

mines<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the census only includes basic wages and payment for overtime, while the monthly report also includes allowances, bonuses and payment in kind. For these reasons, the average wages reported by the census of labour are usually lower than those published in the monthly report.

Table XLI shows a comparison of wage figures given by the two reports :

TABLE XLI. — COMPARISON OF AVERAGE DAILY WAGES IN FACTORIES AND MINES, AS REPORTED BY THE LABOUR CENSUS AND BY THE MONTHLY REPORT ON WAGES AND PRICES, OCTOBER 1927

Items	Report of the labour census <sup>1</sup>		Monthly report on wages and prices <sup>2</sup>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Average for all factories (yen)	2.15	0.87	2.52	0.99
Index number	100	100	117	114
Average for all mines (yen)	1.81	1.29	1.90	1.27
Index number	100	100	105	98

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Jitchi Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1927, Vol. II, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, 1928, pp. 5 and 17.

Thus, in October 1927, the average wages in factories given in the monthly report were 17 per cent. higher for men workers and 14 per cent. higher for women and girls than the average wages given in the census report. In mines, the difference of average wages published by the two reports was less pronounced: the wages of men as reported by the monthly report were only 5 per cent. higher than those given by the labour census, while women workers' wages were actually 2 per cent. lower.

*Factories.* — About one-half of all factory workers in Japan are women and girls, and a comparison of the average daily wages of men and women workers employed in different branches of manufacturing industry shows that they receive much lower wages than men.

<sup>1</sup> In October 1927, the Monthly Report of Wages and Prices covered approximately 380,000 persons working in 740 factories and about 125,000

TABLE XLII. — COMPARISON OF AVERAGE DAILY WAGES  
OF MALE AND FEMALE WORKERS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING  
INDUSTRIES, 1927-1931 <sup>1</sup>

Year	Males	Females	Percentage
	Yen	Yen	
1927	2.49	0.98	39.4
1928	2.59	1.00	38.6
1929	2.59	0.97	37.5
1930	2.50	0.87	34.8
1931	2.38	0.79	33.1

<sup>1</sup> The figures are for the month of September each year. Cf. the December numbers of *Chungin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, 1927-1930, and Jan. 1932.

This table not only shows that the average daily wage of women was only 33.1 per cent. of that of men in September 1931, but also that the average wages of women and girls as compared with men workers decreased steadily from 39.4 per cent. in 1927 to 33.1 per cent. in 1931. The principal economic reasons for the very low wages of women factory workers, 80 per cent. of whom are relatively unskilled workers in the textile industry, appear to be the following: the abundance of the supply of young female labour; the fact that few women workers are the chief supporters of the family, but seek work in factories between school-leaving and marriage for the purpose of helping their families or of earning a marriage dowry for themselves; the youth of girl workers <sup>1</sup>. Finally, it should be noted that women workers are unorganised and thus unable to take concerted action to improve their working conditions — in 1931, only 0.7 per cent. of the total female workers employed in manufacturing industries were members of trade unions.

Statistics show that, as compared with youths of the same age, girl workers begin early to earn relatively high wages and that there is little difference between the average wages of the two sexes when they first begin to earn; the difference in the level of their wages which appears later is not marked until they are over sixteen years of age. For instance, in September 1931, the average daily wages of boys under sixteen years were 0.67 yen as

<sup>1</sup> In the past four or five years over 20 per cent. of all female workers employed in Japanese factories were girls under sixteen years of age (50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, pp. 228-229).



against 2.39 yen earned by male workers over that age, while those of girls under sixteen years were 0.51 yen as against 0.86 yen for women workers<sup>1</sup>. The numbers of boys and girls affected vary considerably: at the end of 1929, the number of boys under sixteen years employed was only 3.3 per cent. of all male workers, whereas the number of girls in the same age-group was 20.3 per cent. of all women employed.

TABLE XLIII. — AVERAGE DAILY WAGES OF WORKERS  
IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES, SEPTEMBER 1928-1931<sup>1</sup>  
(In Yen)

Industry	Male				Female				Average			
	1928	1929	1930	1931	1928	1929	1930	1931	1928	1929	1930	1931
Textiles:												
Silk filatures	0.97	0.94	0.89	0.79	0.71	0.70	0.57	0.49	0.73	0.72	0.60	0.52
Cotton-spinning	1.65	1.61	1.50	1.45	1.12	1.06	0.91	0.79	1.25	1.17	1.04	0.91
Cotton-weaving	1.32	1.41	1.28	1.26	0.91	0.93	0.74	0.70	1.03	1.04	0.87	0.83
Silk-weaving	1.50	1.50	1.35	1.28	0.91	0.91	0.74	0.70	1.04	1.01	0.88	0.82
Wool-weaving	2.07	1.94	2.00	2.04	1.12	0.99	1.03	1.02	1.36	1.26	1.27	1.27
Average	1.64	1.61	1.56	1.51	0.95	0.92	0.79	0.71	1.11	1.07	0.96	0.87
Ceramics	2.32	2.31	2.22	2.11	0.94	0.93	0.87	0.76	2.12	2.10	2.01	1.89
Metal	2.98	3.09	2.96	2.79	1.23	1.26	1.21	1.16	2.90	3.01	2.89	2.73
Machine and tool	2.83	2.80	2.65	2.72	1.42	1.44	1.41	1.38	2.78	2.75	2.61	2.60
Chemical	2.40	2.32	2.27	2.18	1.10	1.10	1.13	1.07	2.01	1.98	1.98	1.89
Paper	2.08	2.10	2.10	2.11	1.04	1.04	1.05	1.14	1.85	1.87	1.88	1.89
Leather, bone, etc	3.35	3.29	3.00	2.88	1.30	1.24	1.31	1.17	3.25	3.21	2.95	2.79
Wood and bamboo	1.96	1.91	1.80	1.55	0.83	0.83	0.74	0.62	1.86	1.81	1.70	1.44
Food and drink	2.16	2.17	2.14	2.11	1.02	1.04	1.04	1.05	1.60	1.63	1.61	1.61
Clothing	2.02	1.98	1.94	1.95	1.21	1.14	1.06	1.00	1.50	1.43	1.34	1.31
Construction	2.94	2.50	2.47	1.79	0.63	0.49	0.90	0.53	2.53	2.22	2.43	1.73
Printing and bookbinding	2.05	2.29	2.21	2.21	1.23	1.33	1.23	1.27	1.80	2.04	1.95	1.97
Gas and electricity	2.68	2.63	2.51	2.39	1.19	1.27	1.28	1.18	2.65	2.61	2.48	2.37
General average	2.59	2.59	2.50	2.38	1.00	0.97	0.87	0.79	2.02	2.02	1.96	1.80

<sup>1</sup> *Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, Dec 1927-1930 and Jan. 1932. The report covered about 370,000 workers (245,000 men and 125,000 women) employed in approximately 730 factories. The earnings included bonuses, allowances and payment in kind. The original tables contained ninety-eight items, classified under fifteen different industries. In this table, only the industries of outstanding importance have been included. The total average, therefore, is not the average of the items selected here, but of the ninety-eight items given in the original tables.

The general averages of daily wages in various industries during the years 1928-1931 are shown in table XLIII. This table indicates that in the last three or four years there has been a steady decline in the wages of practically all Japanese factory workers. It also shows that the highest wages are earned by metal workers, by mechanics in machine and tool manufacturing trades, in the leather and hides trades, in gas works and by electricians. Women's wages throughout these years were much less than half of the wages of men workers.

<sup>2</sup> *Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, Jan. 1932.

It will be noted that wages in the textile industry, already very low, declined generally over the four-year period. The wages of workers in silk filatures, which averaged 0.73 yen in 1928, fell to 0.52 yen in 1931. The operatives in cotton-spinning factories were paid a better wage in 1928, but in 1931 their average fell to below 1 yen. The wool-weaving factories used to pay the best wages in the textile trade, but their average wages fell to 1.27 yen in 1931. The average figure for all textile factories fell from 1.11 yen in 1928 to 0.87 yen in 1931. The decline in the wage level in 1930 and 1931 is attributed to the increasing severity of the trade depression.

*Mines.* — Table XLIV shows the average daily wages in representative mines in Japan in September 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1931. At the end of June 1930, 83 per cent. of the whole body of miners were men and 17 per cent. women<sup>1</sup>. The average daily wages of men and women workers in 1930 were 1.75 yen and 0.97 yen respectively, but there was a fall to 1.57 yen for the men and

TABLE XLIV. — AVERAGE DAILY WAGES OF WORKERS IN MINES,  
SEPTEMBER 1928-1930<sup>1</sup>  
(In Yen)

Mines	Year	Underground			Surface			Average		
		Male	Fe- male	Aver- age	Male	Fe- male	Aver- age	Male	Fe- male	Aver- age
Metal	1928	2.04	0.83	2.00	1.90	0.74	1.75	1.95	0.75	1.84
	1929	2.12	0.85	2.08	1.87	0.72	1.73	1.96	0.74	1.85
	1930	2.00	0.85	1.97	1.74	0.69	1.61	1.84	0.71	1.74
	1931	1.82	0.74	1.80	1.57	0.64	1.46	1.67	0.65	1.59
Coal	1928	2.03	1.66	1.97	1.50	0.75	1.33	1.86	1.27	1.76
	1929	2.05	1.64	1.99	1.51	0.74	1.34	1.88	1.22	1.78
	1930	1.83	1.39	1.79	1.45	0.71	1.30	1.72	1.03	1.63
	1931	1.60	1.08	1.58	1.34	0.65	1.20	1.53	0.77	1.45
Oil	1928	—	—	—	1.78	0.80	1.72	1.78	0.80	1.72
	1929	—	—	—	1.77	0.84	1.72	1.77	0.84	1.72
	1930	—	—	—	1.72	0.82	1.67	1.72	0.82	1.67
	1931	—	—	—	1.66	0.82	1.61	1.66	0.82	1.61
Others	1928	2.24	0.88	2.16	1.96	0.91	1.84	2.06	0.90	1.96
	1929	2.15	1.12	2.08	1.89	0.79	1.76	1.99	0.88	1.88
	1930	2.04	1.09	2.00	1.80	0.83	1.68	1.88	0.87	1.79
	1931	1.79	0.87	1.73	1.60	0.76	1.50	1.67	0.79	1.58
Average	1928	2.03	1.63	1.98	1.67	0.75	1.50	1.88	1.19	1.78
	1929	2.06	1.61	2.01	1.67	0.74	1.50	1.90	1.15	1.79
	1930	1.86	1.37	1.82	1.59	0.71	1.44	1.75	0.97	1.66
	1931	1.64	1.04	1.62	1.46	0.65	1.34	1.57	0.74	1.50

<sup>1</sup> *Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, Dec. 1928-1930 and Jan. 1932. The report covered about 125,000 miners (106,000 male and 19,000 female) employed in approximately eighty mines. The earnings included bonuses, allowances and payment in kind

to 0.74 for the women in 1931. In the four years ending September 1931 miners' wages show a decrease on the same sort of scale as those of factory workers.

In 1930, 67.4 per cent. of all miners worked underground, and 32.6 per cent. on the surface<sup>1</sup>. The average daily wages of underground workers, men and women combined, were 1.82 yen in 1930 and 1.62 yen in 1931; those of surface workers were 1.44 yen in 1930, while in 1931 they had fallen to 1.34 yen. There has thus been a steady decrease since 1928, if a slight improvement in 1929 is excepted.

There is little variation in wage levels in different kinds of mines. The highest wages were paid in oil wells, with an average of 1.61 yen for both sexes combined, while in September 1931 the lowest wages were paid in coal mines, 1.45 yen. In spite of the dangerous nature of the miner's occupation and the greater physical effort demanded of the workers, table XLIV shows that the wages of miners are lower than those of factory workers in general.

*Transport and postal, telegraph and telephone services.* — There was a very slight rise in the average daily wages of the workers in postal, telegraph and telephone services in the four-year period 1928 to 1931, the average daily wages of men rising from 1.45 to 1.48 yen, and those of women workers from 0.97 to 0.99 yen. The average daily wages of the whole group, however, declined from 2.23 yen to 1.98 yen in the case of men, and from 1.40 to 1.06 yen for women.

As regards transport, the lowest wages were paid in railway services, while tramway workers and motor-bus drivers were paid relatively higher wages than those earned in other branches of transport.

Table XLV gives some particulars of the actual daily wages in these services.

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<sup>1</sup> At the end of June 1930, 174,307 miners were working underground and 84,162 on the surface. (*Rōdō Jihō*, Sept. 1931, p. 21).

TABLE XLV. — AVERAGE DAILY WAGES OF WORKERS IN  
TRANSPORT AND POSTAL, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES,  
SEPTEMBER 1928-1931<sup>1</sup>  
(In Yen)

Services	Male				Female				Average			
	1928	1929	1930	1931	1928	1929	1930	1931	1928	1929	1930	1931
Postal, etc., services	1.45	1.46	1.45	1.48	0.97	0.96	0.96	0.99	1.18	1.18	1.18	1.21
Transport.												
Railways	1.54	1.58	1.63	1.55	0.85	0.87	0.86	0.78	1.53	1.57	1.62	1.54
Tramways	2.55	2.54	2.41	2.34	1.13	1.11	1.09	1.12	2.52	2.51	2.39	2.32
Autobuses	3.00	2.94	3.13	2.91	1.55	1.74	1.80	1.63	2.33	2.45	2.59	2.39
Navigation	1.80	1.81	1.79	1.75	—	—	—	—	1.80	1.81	1.79	1.75
Average	2.23	2.25	2.20	1.98	1.40	1.55	1.63	1.06	2.20	2.21	2.17	1.77

<sup>1</sup> *Chūgūn Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, Dec 1928-1930 and Jan 1932. The report covered 58,000 workers, of whom 43,000 were men and 15,000 women. The wages include allowances and bonuses.

### *Wages and Cost of Living*

The Department of Commerce and Industry<sup>1</sup> has published statistics of wages and prices at regular intervals since 1900, but the prices were wholesale prices, and it is only since the war that statistics of retail prices have been compiled. In 1922 the Bank of Japan began to publish monthly index numbers of retail prices in Tokyo, and in 1926 of wages throughout the country. Since 1925 the Bureau of Statistics of the Cabinet has compiled figures showing the wages of factory workers and miners as well as the retail prices in large cities in the country, but the prices include food and fuel only. Finally, the Department of Commerce and Industry has undertaken the collection of retail prices of food, clothing, fuel and miscellaneous articles on a nation-wide scale, but the figures are only available from 1929.

No attempt, however, has yet been made officially to compile cost-of-living index numbers weighted according to the importance of the various items of daily necessity. Further, no statistical report published periodically from official sources has included the item of house rent, which constitutes more than 15 per cent. of the total expenditure of the workers' families. These circumstances make it impossible to compute scientifically reliable index numbers of the cost of living in Japan. Without such figures however, the real wage cannot be ascer-

<sup>1</sup> Previously the Department of Agriculture and Commerce.

tained, and the wage figures quoted in the preceding pages fail to show how their fluctuations have affected the standard of living of Japanese workers.

The need for reliable cost-of-living index numbers has begun to be realised, but it was only late in 1931 that the economic department of a big newspaper publishing company, the *Osaka Asahi*, began to compile and publish them tri-monthly, with data gathered from the whole country. Owing, however, to the fact that the figures date only from October 1931, they cannot be utilised in this chapter, which tries to show how wages in the past five or six years have affected the standard of living of the workers<sup>1</sup>. An attempt is made therefore in the following pages to work out such index numbers with the data that are available.

In order to compute the index numbers of cost of living and real wages, the "Index Number of Retail Prices in Tokyo" and the "Statistics of Factory Labour", both published by the Bank of Japan, have been used, taking the year 1926 as the basis. The former contains a hundred items, including food and drink, fuel and light, clothing and miscellaneous articles, but not house rent; the latter contains index numbers of wage rates and actual earnings of factory workers of both sexes. The weights of various items of daily necessity are obtained from the percentage distribution of the average expenditure of the families of wage earners as shown by the family budget enquiry of 1926-1927<sup>2</sup>. The articles which appeared both in the report of the family budget enquiry and in the price index of the Bank of Japan, together with their weights, are set forth in table XLVI (see page 208).

<sup>1</sup> In calculating the cost-of-living index numbers, 1914 was taken as the base. In order to obtain weights for various items, use was made of data already gathered by the Statistical Bureau of the Cabinet in its family budget enquiry carried on for a year ending in August 1927 throughout the whole country. More than 150 items of family expenditure were included in the original enquiry of the Statistical Bureau, but the *Asahi* enquiry reduced the number to seventy-seven more important items only. These items were divided into five categories weighted as follows: food and drink (48.03), housing (22.28), fuel and light (6.89), clothing (13.48), cultural expenses (9.32). Data was secured in Tokyo, Osaka and eleven other principal cities, these being the cities covered in the investigation regarding the index number of commodity prices in Japan carried out by the Department of Commerce and Industry. Weighted arithmetical averages were taken for the index numbers. The actual figures are as follows:

October 1931	160 5	January 1932	165 3
November 1931	158 8	February 1932	166 2
December 1931	160 9		

(Cf. *Osaka Asahi*, 11 March 1932.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 212.

TABLE XLVI. — ITEMS AND THEIR WEIGHTS USED  
FOR THE COMPUTATION OF THE COST-OF-LIVING INDEX NUMBERS

Item	Weight
1. Food and drinks :	
Rice (Japanese rice) . . . . .	15.64
Round and pressed barley . . . . .	0.20
Beans and vegetables (soya bean and red bean, steamed beans ( <i>natto</i> ), Irish potatoes, dried onions, lotus root and other vegetables combined) . . . . .	2.84
Pickles and bean-cakes (pickled turnips and all other pickles, <i>tsukudani</i> , and bean cakes) . . . . .	2.18
Meat (beef and pork) . . . . .	1.02
Fish (tunny, mackerel, shell-fish, salted salmon) . . . . .	3.41
Seasoning material (salt, bean-sauce, bean-paste, vinegar, white and brown sugar, oils and dried bonito) . . . . .	3.37
Milk . . . . .	0.22
Eggs . . . . .	0.55
<i>Saké</i> . . . . .	2.80
Other drinks . . . . .	0.48
Candy and fruits . . . . .	2.45
Tobacco . . . . .	1.39
2. Clothing (20 articles including cotton, silk, woollen and mixed cloths, cotton and silk waddings, cotton and woollen threads) . . . . .	9.33
Accessories (10 articles including shirts, socks, hats and caps, umbrellas, wooden clogs and shoes) . . . . .	3.66
3. Fuel and light (gas, charcoal, coal, coke, wood and electric light) . . . . .	4.56
4. Miscellaneous articles :	
Stationery (Japanese and European paper) . . . . .	0.13
Soap and drugs . . . . .	6.39
Total . . . . .	60.62

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. II, pp 326-329

Table XLVII shows the index numbers of retail prices in the City of Tokyo from January 1926<sup>1</sup> to February 1931, computed by a simple arithmetic average of all items in the respective groups. In the table is also shown the weighted average of retail prices which reflected the trend of the cost of living. This figure, however, cannot be called a cost-of-living index in a strict sense of the term, because it does not include house rent, taxes and other items indispensable for determining the actual cost of living. Nor can the "real wage index" included in the table be regarded as complete, for it has been computed not with a com-

<sup>1</sup> Although price figures are obtainable from 1932, yet wares are available only from 1926. Both price and wage figures, therefore, have been taken from 1926 in order to place the two items on a comparable basis. As the original price index was based upon 1914, the figures have been converted so that the index number for 1926 is 100 for both prices and wages.

plete cost-of-living index but only with the weighted index of prices. The index number of real wages in this table has been obtained by dividing the wage index by the weighted index number of retail prices.

TABLE XLVII. — INDEX NUMBERS OF COST OF LIVING AND REAL WAGES,  
JANUARY 1926 TO FEBRUARY 1931

Year	Food		Clothing		Fuel		Miscellaneous		Average		Index of number of wages	Index of number of real wages
	Un- weighted	Weighted	Un- weighted	Weighted	Un- weighted	Weighted	Un- weighted	Weighted	Un- weighted	Weighted		
1926	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1927	96.5	97.1	84.9	85.2	105.6	105.6	97.3	98.7	96.0	95.8	104.6	109.2
1928	93.3	91.6	83.6	83.9	106.0	106.0	96.4	96.9	93.5	91.9	108.3	117.8
1929	89.0	88.6	81.6	80.7	98.	98.8	96.1	96.3	91.5	88.5	107.6	121.6
1930 : January	88.7	85.1	73.7	73.0	89.2	89.2	94.6	95.7	87.8	84.0	104.6	124.5
February	87.7	84.4	73.7	73.0	88.0	88.0	94.6	95.7	87.0	83.6	106.0	126.8
March	84.3	81.7	71.5	70.0	80.0	80.0	94.6	95.7	83.2	81.2	105.9	130.4
April	84.1	81.2	70.1	69.0	87.1	87.1	94.6	95.7	83.8	80.6	103.9	128.9
May	82.4	80.6	70.0	68.8	86.3	86.3	92.7	95.6	82.4	80.1	102.9	128.5
June	80.9	79.3	69.0	67.6	86.3	86.3	91.8	93.8	81.1	79.0	102.0	129.1
July	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
August	81.9	82.2	65.2	62.8	83.9	83.9	87.9	90.6	81.0	79.4	101.3	127.6
September	83.0	82.6	64.1	61.4	82.7	82.7	87.9	90.6	81.6	79.3	100.6	126.9
October	79.1	73.9	63.0	60.8	83.1	83.1	86.1	87.0	78.4	73.4	101.2	137.9
November	76.4	67.5	62.5	60.3	78.3	78.3	84.3	86.9	75.9	68.8	101.1	146.9
December	75.2	67.1	61.4	58.9	76.7	76.7	84.3	86.9	74.8	68.1	102.1	149.9
1931 : January	74.8	66.2	60.5	58.2	77.5	77.5	81.9	82.1	74.2	67.0	98.1	146.4
February	74.6	65.5	60.3	57.8	78.7	78.7	81.9	82.1	74.1	66.7	97.6	146.3

<sup>1</sup> Index numbers of actual earnings of factory workers (excluding those in silk filatures) in the region of Tokyo and Yokohama.

It will be seen from table XLVII that the retail prices, and the cost of living as reflected by the retail prices, have declined considerably during the last five years. The average index of retail prices fell from 100 in 1926 to 91.5 in 1929. The decline of prices has been most marked since 1930, the index number having fallen from 87.8 in January 1930 to 74.2 in January 1931, or a drop of 13.6 per cent. within one year. The weighted average of retail prices which represent the trend of cost of living has declined further than the unweighted price index, especially since the latter part of 1930. The weighted index stood from 1 to 3 per cent. below the unweighted index before September 1930, and from 5 to 7 per cent. after October 1930.

The wage index, on the contrary, advanced from 100 in 1926 to 108.3 in 1928. Although the index has steadily declined since the beginning of 1929, yet it maintained its level above the basic figure of 1926 until December 1930. It was only after January 1931 that wages began to fall below the figures of 1926.

It should be borne in mind that the figures for wages used in connection with the cost of living do not include those paid in silk filatures, which have abnormally declined in recent years<sup>1</sup>.

The wages quoted, moreover, show that the average daily wages and the number of working days per month have not been considered. As a matter of fact, the average number of working days per month has slightly declined in recent years and this suggests that the workers are earning less per month now than a year or two ago<sup>2</sup>.

The real wage index has shown a steady tendency to rise during the entire period from 1926 to 1930. The index rose from 100 in 1926 to 109.2 in 1927, to 117.8 in 1928, and to 121.6 in 1929. It showed a sharp advance toward the latter part of 1930, the number standing at 149.9 in December 1930. As mentioned above, however, the real wage index given here cannot be taken as complete, because the cost-of-living index is insufficient and the wage index seems to be a little higher than the average monthly income of all workers. Moreover, the figures of retail prices are for Tokyo only, while the wage figures are for the region of Tokyo and Yokohama, so that the table should not be taken as applying to the whole country. Nevertheless it may serve to suggest the fact that the standard of living of the Japanese workers is being raised by the gradual rise in real wages.

It is reported that the family budget enquiry, undertaken in 1926-1927, would be conducted every year from 1931<sup>3</sup>. Co-ordination, as far as circumstances allow, of the items contained in Government publications<sup>4</sup> with those included in the proposed family budget enquiry would be advantageous; if this were effected it would greatly facilitate the composition of a cost-of-living index of an authoritative kind.

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<sup>1</sup> Average daily wages of workers in silk filatures has declined from 0.74 yen in March 1930 to 0.59 yen in March 1931 (*Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*).

<sup>2</sup> The average number of working days per month has fallen from 26.9 in 1929 to 26.5 in 1931 (cf. *Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*, March 1930 and March 1931, p. 1).

<sup>3</sup> *Osaka Asahi*, 4 June 1931.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, *Chingin Bukka Tōkei Geppō*.



TABLE XLVIII. — AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE  
OF EMPLOYEES' HOUSEHOLDS<sup>1</sup>

Item	Income group (yen)									
	Under 60	60-80	80-100	100-120	120-140	140-160	160-180	180-200	Over 200	Average
I. Earnings :										
	Income									
Husband	48.79	64.69	77.08	92.26	106.59	119.73	135.25	144.39	164.66	109.65
Wife	0.33	0.94	1.74	2.41	2.33	4.48	5.31	5.57	10.18	3.76
Other members	—	0.28	0.79	1.51	2.11	1.99	4.71	5.45	7.99	2.75
Total	49.12	65.91	79.61	96.18	111.03	126.20	145.27	155.41	182.83	116.16
II. Other income :										
From lodgers	—	0.08	0.30	0.65	0.78	0.58	0.37	0.56	0.21	0.48
From property	—	0.44	1.28	2.33	3.77	6.17	4.06	11.86	17.00	5.22
Presents	4.01	4.89	7.96	9.41	11.89	12.81	13.82	15.91	20.51	11.81
Other sources	0.18	0.30	1.40	1.57	2.78	3.46	6.71	5.11	9.47	3.50
Total	4.19	5.71	10.94	13.96	19.22	23.02	24.96	33.44	47.19	21.01
Grand total	53.31	71.62	90.55	110.14	130.25	149.22	170.23	188.85	230.02	137.17
Expenditure										
Total	54. 0	69.64	86.12	103.28	120.25	132.81	152.78	165.96	197.82	124.34
Shortage of the husband's earnings to meet expenditure	5.31	4.95	9.04	11.02	13.66	13.08	17.53	21.57	33.16	14.69
Balance between income and expenditure	(2) 0.79	1.98	4.43	6.86	10.00	16.41	17.45	22.89	32.20	12.83
Income in Percentage										
I. Earnings :										
Husband	91.6	90.3	85.1	83.8	81.8	80.3	79.4	76.5	71.6	80.0
Wife	0.6	1.3	1.9	2.2	1.8	3.0	3.1	3.0	4.4	2.7
Other members	—	0.4	0.9	1.4	1.6	1.3	2.8	2.9	3.5	2.0
Total	92.2	92.0	87.9	87.4	85.2	84.6	85.3	82.4	79.5	84.7
II. Other income :										
From lodgers	—	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.4
From property	—	0.6	1.4	2.1	2.9	4.1	2.4	6.3	7.4	3.8
Presents	7.5	6.8	8.8	8.5	9.1	8.6	8.1	8.4	8.9	8.6
Other sources	0.3	0.4	1.6	1.4	2.1	2.3	3.9	2.7	4.1	2.6
Total	7.8	7.9	12.1	12.6	14.7	15.4	14.6	17.7	20.5	15.4
Grand total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.1
Surplus of income as against expenditure	—	2.8	4.9	6.2	7.7	11.0	10.3	12.1	13.9	9.4

<sup>1</sup> Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku, 1926-1927, Vol. II, pp. 22-23.<sup>2</sup> This is the only case where total income is insufficient to meet total expenditure.

TABLE XLIX. — AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE  
OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS <sup>1</sup>

Item	Income group (yen)									
	Under 60	60- 80	80- 100	100- 120	120- 140	140- 160	160- 180	180- 200	Over 200	Aver- age
<i>Income</i>										
I. Earnings										
Husband	47.63	61.80	77.67	91.04	106.45	117.17	130.45	135.88	172.50	85.11
Wife	1.88	3.27	3.30	3.77	4.25	3.51	4.56	5.96	5.37	3.55
Other members	0.42	1.29	2.06	4.13	6.15	11.11	15.30	22.51	24.51	4.26
Total	49.93	66.36	83.03	98.94	116.85	131.79	150.31	164.35	202.38	92.92
II. Other income										
From lodgers	0.07	0.24	0.42	0.93	1.08	1.19	1.20	1.88	0.72	0.64
From property	0.16	0.62	1.04	2.02	2.76	4.41	4.94	8.63	14.58	1.92
Presents	2.52	3.81	4.98	6.57	7.33	10.13	11.24	12.61	12.11	5.92
Other sources	0.18	0.31	0.56	0.82	0.72	1.57	1.22	1.36	1.62	0.67
Total	2.93	4.98	7.00	10.34	11.89	17.30	18.60	24.48	29.03	9.15
Grand total	52.86	71.34	90.03	109.28	128.74	149.09	168.91	188.83	231.41	102.07
<i>Expenditure</i>										
Total	52.52	67.66	82.23	97.93	112.11	128.46	142.08	154.54	177.35	91.38
Shortage of husband's earnings to meet expenditure	4.89	5.86	4.56	6.89	5.66	11.29	11.63	18.66	4.85	6.27
Surplus	0.34	3.68	7.80	11.35	16.63	20.63	26.83	34.29	54.06	10.69
<i>Income in Percentage</i>										
I. Earnings										
Husband	0.1	86.6	86.3	83.3	82.7	78.6	77.2	72.0	74.6	83.4
Wife	3.6	4.6	3.7	3.5	3.3	2.4	2.7	3.2	2.3	3.5
Other members	0.8	1.8	2.3	3.8	4.8	7.5	9.1	11.9	10.6	4.2
Total	94.5	93.0	92.3	90.6	90.8	88.5	89.0	87.1	87.5	91.1
II. Other income										
From lodgers	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.6
From property	0.3	0.9	1.2	1.9	2.2	3.0	2.9	4.6	6.3	1.9
Presents	4.8	5.3	5.5	6.0	5.7	6.8	6.7	6.7	5.2	5.8
Other sources	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.6	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Total	5.5	6.9	7.8	9.6	9.3	11.7	11.0	13.0	12.5	9.0
Grand total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.2	100.1	100.2	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1
Surplus	0.6	5.2	8.7	10.4	12.9	13.8	15.9	18.2	23.4	14.8

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol II, pp. 28-29.

### Family Budgets

Valuable information regarding the actual income and expenditure of Japanese workers' families was collected in the course of the family budget enquiry undertaken by the Bureau of Statistics of the Cabinet from 1 September 1926 to 31 August 1927<sup>1</sup>. It was by far the most important of the investigations<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *International Labour Review*, March 1931, pp. 388-398.

<sup>2</sup> Previous enquiries had been made by the *Kyocho-Kai*, June 1921 to

made in Japan on this subject, and included the family budgets of employees<sup>1</sup>, industrial and land workers. The scope of the investigation is shown in table L.

TABLE L. — SCOPE OF THE FAMILY BUDGET ENQUIRY  
OF 1926-1927<sup>2</sup>

Group	Number of families investigated
I. Employees. . . . .	1,575
II. Industrial workers :	
Factory workers . . . . .	2,028
Miners . . . . .	447
Transport, postal, telephone and telegraph workers	416
Day labourers . . . . .	319
Total. . . . .	3,210
III. Land workers :	
Landowners. . . . .	132
Small holders or peasant farmers <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	330
Farm workers of various kinds <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	208
Total. . . . .	670
Grand total. . . . .	5,455

As regards size of family and income, the enquiry showed that, among employees, the smallest family had 3.22 members in the income group of under 60 yen a month, and the largest had 4.84 members in the group receiving from 180 to 200 yen, while the average family had 4.06 members. Industrial workers had larger families than employees: the group of those earning less than 60 yen a month had the smallest family of 3.74, while amongst those receiving more than 200 yen the family numbered 5.49, the average number being 4.11 per family. Still larger families were found among land workers, the smallest being 4.33 in the lowest and the largest 7.36 in the highest income group, with the average figure of 5.83 members per family. Table LI shows more detailed figures.

May 1922, by the Bureau of Social Affairs, February and March 1921, by the Commission for the investigation of the working conditions of miners, April to June, 1925, and by various municipalities.

<sup>1</sup> Lower officials, clerks, teachers and policemen.

<sup>2</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. II, p. 2, and Vol. IV, p. 14

<sup>3</sup> The peasant farmer works as a rule rather more than half the year on his own holding and works for wages on a larger farm for the rest of the time (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of Japan, quoted in *International Labour Review*, Nov. 1927, pp. 710-711).

<sup>4</sup> Some of these are farm servants and live in, sharing in the life of the employer's family, the greater part of the wages being in board and lodging (*ibid.*).

TABLE LI. — AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE  
OF LAND WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS <sup>1</sup>

Item	Income group (yen)									
	Under 60	60- 80	80- 100	100- 120	120- 140	140- 160	160- 180	180- 200	Over 200	Aver- age
<i>Income</i>										
I Earnings from farm products	29.07	44.89	56.68	71.56	83.57	96.22	117.91	124.19	129.08	61.57
II Other income:										
(a) From labour										
Husband	4.07	4.36	5.14	5.95	6.03	5.56	3.63	13.71	14.70	5.30
Wife	0.93	1.23	0.87	0.52	0.62	0.66	0.21	0.11	0.99	0.83
Other members	1.49	3.35	5.45	6.38	7.42	5.43	5.04	1.21	13.52	4.90
Total	6.49	8.94	11.46	12.85	14.07	11.65	8.88	15.03	29.21	11.03
(b) Other sources:										
From property	6.01	8.86	12.03	14.31	17.22	22.52	22.56	32.36	37.03	13.00
Presents	3.59	4.87	6.52	7.48	10.39	13.46	10.09	15.11	20.86	7.18
Others	1.94	2.65	2.79	3.62	5.69	4.45	7.90	3.24	4.93	3.38
Total	11.54	16.38	21.34	25.41	33.30	40.43	40.55	50.71	62.82	23.56
Grand total	47.10	70.21	89.48	109.82	130.94	148.30	167.34	189.93	221.11	96.16
<i>Expenditure</i>										
Total	59.79	75.81	93.05	107.67	126.28	138.88	140.09	139.32	169.48	96.39
Shortage of earnings to meet expenditure	24.23	21.98	24.91	23.26	28.64	31.01	13.30	0.10	11.19	23.79
Surplus <sup>2</sup>	12.69	-5.60	-3.57	2.15	4.66	9.42	27.25	50.61	51.63	-0.23
<i>Income in Percentage</i>										
I. Earnings from farm products	61.7	63.9	63.3	65.2	63.8	64.9	70.5	65.4	58.4	64.0
II. Other income:										
(a) From labour.										
Husband	8.6	6.2	5.8	5.4	4.6	3.8	2.2	7.2	6.7	5.5
Wife	2.0	1.8	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.9
Other members	3.2	4.8	6.1	5.8	5.7	3.7	3.0	0.6	6.1	5.1
Total	13.8	12.8	12.9	11.7	10.8	8.0	5.3	7.9	13.3	11.5
(b) Other sources:										
From property	12.8	12.6	13.4	13.0	13.2	15.2	13.5	17.0	16.8	13.5
Presents	7.6	6.9	7.3	6.8	7.9	9.1	6.0	8.0	9.4	7.5
Others	4.1	3.8	3.1	3.3	4.4	3.0	4.7	1.7	2.2	3.5
Total	24.5	23.3	23.8	23.1	25.5	27.3	24.2	26.7	28.4	24.5
Grand total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. IV, pp. 14-17.

<sup>2</sup> Deficit is indicated by minus sign (—)

TABLE LII. — AVERAGE SIZE OF THE FAMILY IN RELATION TO INCOME  
AS ASCERTAINED BY THE FAMILY BUDGET ENQUIRY OF 1926-1927 <sup>1</sup>  
(Monthly Income in Yen)

Group	Under 60	60- 80	80- 100	100- 120	120- 140	140- 160	160- 180	180- 200	Over 200	Aver- age
I. Employees	3.22	3.58	3.93	4.15	4.36	4.46	4.63	4.84	4.30	4.06
II. Industrial workers										
Factory workers	3.58	3.77	4.10	4.29	4.53	4.56	4.47	4.78	5.11	4.10
Miners	3.96	4.37	4.52	4.23	1.80	5.20	5.75	—	7.06	4.37
Transport, postal, tele- graph and tele- phone workers	3.36	3.33	3.57	4.05	4.07	3.64	4.79	4.75	6.33	3.75
Day labourers	4.03	4.10	4.15	4.19	4.61	4.64	4.50	6.00	7.17	4.26
Average for indus- trial workers	3.74	3.87	4.08	4.24	4.46	4.50	4.58	5.00	5.49	4.11
III. Land workers	4.33	5.67	5.83	6.31	6.65	6.73	6.44	6.56	7.36	5.83

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. II, p. 15, and Vol. IV, p. 14.

The average income of employees ranged from 53.31 yen to 230.02 yen per month, the general average being 137.17 yen. The income of industrial workers was lower, varying from 52.86 yen to 231.41 yen a month, with an average income of 102.07 yen. The land workers' income was the lowest of all three groups, with an average figure of 96.11 yen.

Tables XLVIII, XLIX and LI show the sources of income of the three groups in relation to the total expenditure of the family. They indicate that 84.7 per cent. of the total income of employees was derived from their work, as against 15.4 per cent. from other sources<sup>1</sup>. Industrial workers depended for their income upon their labour to a larger extent: 91.1 per cent. of their entire income came from labour and only 9.0 per cent. from non-labour sources. The tables further show that the proportion of the income from work decreases as the total of the income rises while the proportion of the income from other sources increases. For example, among industrial workers the percentage of income from work decreased from 94.5 per cent. in the lowest income group to 87.5 per cent. in the highest, while income from other sources advanced from 5.5 per cent. to 12.5 per cent. This tendency is seen more markedly among employees.

The enquiry also established the fact that in the various income groups the proportion of the income from the work of the head of the household decreases as the total of the income increases. Among industrial workers, for instance, the husband's income decreased from 90.1 per cent. of the total income in the lowest income to 74.6 per cent. in the highest. This diminution is made up partly by the increasing proportion of the income from the work of other members of the household (0.8 per cent. in the lowest income group to 10.6 per cent. in the highest), and partly by the rising proportion of the income from other sources (from 5.5 per cent. of the total income to 12.5 per cent. in the highest). In the case of employees, the decreasing proportion of the husband's income was compensated by the increase in the proportion of the income from other sources than work which advanced in percentage from 7.8 per cent. in the lowest income group to 20.5 per cent. in the highest.

For those who worked on the land, table LI shows that 64.0 per cent. of the total income of their households was derived

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<sup>1</sup> Profit on taking lodgers, property, gifts of money, etc.

from farming operations, 11.5 per cent. from the labour of the husband, wife and other members of the household, and 24.5 per cent. from other sources. Thus the income from sources other than work constituted nearly one-fourth of the farmers' entire income.

With regard to the groups covered, the enquiry showed that if the total income is compared with the total expenditure, both employees and industrial workers were left with a small surplus. The surplus increased both in absolute figure and in ratio as the income of the groups increased. In the employee group, the surplus rose from 1.98 yen, representing 2.8 per cent. of the total income of the group receiving from 60 to 80 yen a month, to 32.20 yen constituting 13.9 per cent. of the total income of the group earning more than 200 yen a month. The average surplus was 12.83 yen per month or 9.4 per cent. of the average total income of all the employees investigated.

The industrial workers' surplus ranged from 0.34 yen per month or 0.6 per cent. of the total income of the lowest income group to 54.06 yen per month or 23.4 per cent. of the highest income group, with an average of 10.69 yen or 14.8 per cent. of the average total income of the industrial workers investigated. Therefore, although the average surplus of the industrial class was smaller than that of the employees, in actual amount it was higher in proportion to the total income.

A further analysis of the enquiry, however, shows that the income of the head of a household is not sufficient to meet the total expenditure of the family. In the employees' group, the deficit of the husband's income as compared with the total family expenditure amounted to 5.31 yen per month in the lowest income group and 33.16 yen in the highest, with an average deficit of 14.69 yen per month. The deficit of the industrial workers was less than that of employees: the deficit ranged from 4.89 yen per month in the lowest income group to 18.66 yen in the group receiving 180 to 200 yen a month, the average deficit amounting to 6.27 yen. Thus the surplus of income over expenditure was made possible only by the assistance of the wife and other members of the family as well as by income from other sources than work.

The enquiry disclosed the fact that land workers were in the poorest financial conditions of all three groups of workers investigated. With all earnings from the cultivation of their own land

and income from work of the husband, wife and other members of the family, this family budget showed a large deficit in all income groups, especially in the group earning under 160 yen per month. Even with all incomes from sources other than work, which constituted almost one-quarter of the entire income, the budget showed a deficit of 0.23 yen a month per family on the average.

With regard to the nature of the family expenditure, the enquiry distinguished four categories :

- (1) Subsistence costs, including food, housing, clothing, light and fuel.
- (2) Expenditure necessary for hygiene, for the care and education of children, transport and correspondence (tram fares, postage, stationery, etc.), and taxes.
- (3) Expenditure for social purposes, recreation, travel, beverages, tobacco, sweets, etc.
- (4) Other.

According to the enquiry, the average monthly expenditure of the employees, industrial workers and land workers covered was 124.34 yen, 91.38 yen and 96.39 yen respectively. Of these total amounts, employees spent 63.3 per cent. under category (1), 12.9 per cent. under category (2) and 20.6 per cent. under category (3). Industrial workers spent the relatively large proportion of 66 per cent. under category (1) and only 18.8 per cent. under (3), the percentage of the expenditure under (2) being about the same as in the case of employees. For land workers, 70.4 per cent. of the total expenditure came under category (1), with 7.1 per cent. and 15.2 per cent. for (2) and (3) respectively.

Further study of the report of the enquiry shows that, under category (1), the proportion of the expenditure for food decreased as the income of the family rose. For employees, the food item decreased from 37.6 per cent. of the total family expenditure in the lowest income group to 22.3 per cent. in the highest; for industrial workers from 42.8 per cent. to 25.2 per cent., and for land workers from 45.5 per cent. to 31.6 per cent. Moreover, for both employees and industrial workers, the total expenditure under category (1) decreased from more than 72 per cent. of the family expenditure in the lowest income group to about 58 per

cent. in the highest, while for land workers the corresponding figures were 73.6 per cent. and 61.5 per cent. Conversely, the proportion of expenditure under category (2) showed a tendency to increase with the rise of income in all groups; for employees from 9.5 per cent. to 13.7 per cent., for industrial workers from 10.4 per cent. to 12.2 per cent. and for land workers from 6.5 per cent. to 8.8 per cent. Expenditure under category (3) also showed a distinct tendency to rise in proportion as the income of the groups increased: for employees from 13.6 per cent. to 23.0 per cent., for industrial workers from 14.9 per cent. to 22.1 per cent. and for land workers from 14.0 per cent. to 20.6 per cent.

If the various items of expenditure are examined in more detail it is seen that the percentage of expenditure for *food* per month for employees, industrial workers' and land workers' families was 26.5 per cent., 32.6 per cent. and 41.2 per cent. respectively of the total expenditure of the family, or 24.0 per cent., 29.2 per cent. and 41.3 per cent. respectively of the average total income. These percentages well reflect the standard of living of the three classes of workers investigated.

Rice was the principal food of all the groups, representing from 40 to 60 per cent. of the total food cost, or from 10 to 25 per cent. of the total family expenditure; this suggests how the daily life of the working people is affected by fluctuations in the price of rice. More fish is consumed than meat, the former constituting about 11 per cent. of the total food cost of employees and industrial workers, and the latter only from 3 to 4 per cent. Land workers spent only 5.6 per cent. of the total food cost for fish and meat. Bean products and vegetables, including pickles, were important items of the budgets; for these, all groups of workers investigated spent about 15 per cent. of their outlay on food. Sugar and bean sauces are important seasoning materials, and cost more than 10 per cent. of all the food expenditure. Table LIII shows the various food items in further detail.



TABLE LIII. — ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR FOOD IN THE FAMILIES OF EMPLOYEES, INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND LAND WORKERS, 1926-1927<sup>1</sup>

Item	Group					
	Employees		Industrial workers		Land workers	
	Amount (in yen)	Per cent.	Amount (in yen)	Per cent.	Amount (in yen)	Per cent.
Rice	13.17	40.0	14.29	47.9	24.64	59.8
Other cereals	0.62	1.9	0.56	1.9	2.75	6.7
Fish	3.75	11.4	3.12	10.5	2.01	4.9
Meat	1.39	4.2	0.93	3.1	0.27	0.7
Eggs and milk	1.30	3.9	0.70	2.3	0.32	0.8
Beans and vegetables	2.92	8.9	2.60	8.7	3.71	9.0
Dried food	0.53	1.6	0.39	1.3	0.34	0.8
Bean cake and pickles	2.15	6.5	1.99	6.7	1.91	4.6
Seasoning	3.46	10.5	3.08	10.3	4.76	11.6
Purchase of meals	3.62	11.0	2.16	7.2	0.46	1.1
Total	32.91	99.9	29.82	99.9	41.17	100.0

Of the 4,785 employees and industrial workers covered by the investigation of 1 September 1926, only 380 persons, or 7.9 per cent. owned their own houses, 4,242 persons or 88.7 per cent. lived in rented houses and 163 persons or 3.4 per cent. in rented rooms. The average number of rooms in the houses owned or rented, was 3.5 for employees and 2.5 for industrial workers. Each house had 15.8 mats<sup>2</sup>, or 3.9 mats per person, for employees and 11.0 mats, or 2.7 mats per person, for industrial workers. Land workers lived in larger houses, each house having on the average 4.7 rooms with 26.5 mats in all, in addition to a wooden floor covering 6.6 mats' space and earthen floor space equivalent to 7.9 mats. There was but little variation in the proportion of expenditure on housing in the different income groups. Average rent and other housing costs per month absorbed from 15 to 18 per cent. of the total family expenditure or from 14 to 17 per cent. of the total family income according to the groups of persons investigated.

*Clothing* came third in order of importance, accounting for more than 13 per cent. of the total family expenditure, i.e. over

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. II, pp. 314-315, pp. 326-327, and Vol. IV, pp. 128-129.

<sup>2</sup> A mat has a dimension of approximately 3 feet by 6 feet.

11.5 per cent. of the entire income of employees and industrial workers. Land workers spent less on clothing, the percentage being only 7.9 per cent. of the average income. The relative cost of clothing was almost invariable irrespective of income groups among employees, but industrial workers showed a tendency to spend higher amounts upon clothes as the total income increased.

The expenses of the workers' families under category (2), including such items as *taxes*, the children's *schooling*, *medical* expenses, *hygiene*, etc., were found to be of secondary importance. In the families of employees and industrial workers these items came to less than 13 per cent. of the total expenditure, and in the families of land workers reached only 7.1 per cent.

The expenses under category (3), including beverages, tobacco, cinemas, social intercourse, etc., were on the whole heavier than the items under category (2). Of these expenses, the largest single item was the expenditure for social purposes. Its percentage rose from about 5 per cent. in the lowest income group to about 12 per cent. in the highest, with average figures from 7 to 8 per cent. of the total family expenditure of all persons investigated. In Japan, it is customary to give a present in money or goods on special occasions, such as births, marriages, funerals, travelling, at the time of entering military service, at the New Year, etc. Such presents are an important source of income to the working people, but they are in turn obliged to spend a considerable sum of money on gifts to others.

The percentage of expenditure on beverages, tobacco, etc., represented 6.2 per cent., 7.1 per cent. and 4.5 per cent. respectively of the family expenditure of the employees, industrial workers and land workers. The total expenditure under category (3) increased from about 14 per cent. in the lowest income group to 22 per cent. in the highest for all workers investigated.

Further details of the expenditure of the families of the three classes of workers are given in tables LIV, LV and LVI.

TABLE LIV. — AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE OF THE FAMILIES  
OF EMPLOYEES <sup>1</sup>

Item	Income group (in yen)									
	Under 60	60- 80	80- 100	100- 120	120- 140	140- 160	160- 180	180- 200	Over 200	Aver- age
<i>Expenditure</i>										
Category (1)	20.33	22.30	26.21	29.65	32.66	34.66	38.81	39.83	44.00	32.91
Food	9.41	12.47	15.70	19.59	22.51	24.61	26.42	30.98	35.90	22.84
Housing	6.79	9.54	11.72	14.06	16.77	18.62	21.34	22.70	27.35	17.18
Clothing	3.44	3.93	4.33	5.12	5.88	5.01	6.72	6.94	7.71	5.66
Light and fuel	39.97	48.24	57.96	68.42	77.52	83.83	93.29	100.45	114.96	78.59
Total										
Category (2):	2.92	4.66	5.56	6.38	7.12	8.67	9.30	10.61	11.31	7.68
Hygiene	1.04	1.34	2.28	2.97	3.69	4.11	6.00	6.27	6.97	3.98
Schooling	0.85	1.22	1.70	2.17	2.73	3.19	4.17	4.57	5.29	2.96
Fares, postage, etc.	0.31	0.61	0.75	0.90	1.07	1.36	1.66	2.44	3.60	1.41
Taxes	5.12	7.80	10.29	12.42	14.61	17.33	21.13	23.89	27.17	16.03
Total										
Category (3):	3.21	4.73	6.13	7.62	9.56	11.03	12.88	14.93	19.81	10.29
Social expenses	1.07	2.49	3.52	4.67	5.65	6.78	8.06	8.31	11.00	6.03
Culture and recreation	0.01	0.74	0.84	0.99	1.31	1.59	1.78	2.10	2.81	1.43
Travelling	3.10	4.13	5.37	6.61	7.56	8.46	9.21	10.05	11.90	7.70
Beverages, tobacco, etc.	7.39	12.09	15.86	19.89	24.08	27.86	31.93	35.29	45.52	25.45
Total										
Category (4)	1.62	1.51	2.01	2.55	4.04	3.79	6.43	6.33	10.17	4.27
All others	54.10	69.64	86.12	103.28	120.25	132.81	152.78	165.96	197.82	124.34
Grand total										
<i>Expenditure in Percentage</i>										
Category (1)	37.6	32.1	30.5	28.7	27.2	26.1	25.4	24.0	22.3	26.5
Food	17.4	17.9	18.2	19.0	18.7	18.5	17.3	18.7	18.2	18.4
Housing	12.6	13.7	13.6	13.6	14.0	14.0	14.0	13.7	13.8	13.8
Clothing	6.4	5.6	5.0	5.0	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.2	3.9	4.6
Light and fuel	74.0	69.3	67.3	66.3	64.5	63.1	61.1	60.6	58.2	63.3
Total										
Category (2):	5.4	6.7	6.5	6.2	5.9	6.5	6.1	6.4	5.7	6.2
Hygiene	1.9	1.9	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.9	3.8	3.5	3.2
Schooling	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.4	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.4
Fares, postage, etc.	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.8	1.1
Taxes	9.5	11.3	12.1	12.1	12.2	13.0	13.8	14.5	13.7	12.9
Total										
Category (3):	5.9	6.8	7.1	7.4	8.0	8.3	8.1	9.0	10.0	8.3
Social expenses	2.0	3.6	4.1	4.5	4.7	5.1	5.3	5.0	5.6	4.9
Culture and recreation	—	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.2
Travelling	5.7	5.9	6.2	6.4	6.3	6.4	6.0	6.1	6.0	6.2
Beverages, tobacco, etc.	10.0	17.4	18.4	19.3	20.1	21.0	20.9	21.4	23.0	20.6
Total										
Category (4):	3.0	2.2	2.3	2.5	3.4	2.9	4.2	3.8	5.1	3.4
All others	100.1	100.2	100.1	100.2	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.3	100.0	100.2
Grand total										

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. IV, pp. 128-131.

TABLE LV. — AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE OF THE FAMILIES  
OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS <sup>1</sup>

Item	Income group (yen)									
	Under 60	60- 80	80- 100	100- 120	120- 140	140- 160	160- 180	180- 200	Over 200	Average
<i>Expenditure</i>										
Category (1).										
Food	22.50	25.52	28.41	30.71	33.71	37.29	38.65	38.59	44.73	29.82
Housing	7.42	10.04	12.71	16.16	18.42	20.12	23.41	25.19	27.68	14.42
Clothing	5.12	7.99	10.29	12.80	15.36	18.21	21.29	24.34	24.36	11.87
Light and fuel	3.02	3.34	3.91	4.45	4.85	5.25	5.63	5.89	9.63	4.17
Total	38.06	46.89	55.32	64.12	72.34	80.87	88.98	91.01	103.40	60.28
Category (2):										
Hygiene	3.15	4.19	5.46	6.39	7.41	7.63	8.70	8.97	9.75	5.84
Schooling	1.49	1.77	2.04	2.78	3.19	4.20	4.44	3.94	5.77	2.53
Fares, postage, etc.	0.60	0.91	1.18	1.62	1.91	2.24	2.75	3.52	3.89	1.46
Taxes	0.26	0.33	0.41	0.53	0.58	0.81	1.05	1.27	2.12	0.51
Total	5.50	7.23	9.09	11.32	13.09	14.88	16.94	17.70	21.53	10.34
Category (3):										
Social expenses	2.37	4.13	5.34	7.18	8.72	9.97	11.57	14.46	15.97	6.46
Culture and recreation	1.19	1.94	2.69	3.60	4.52	5.35	6.28	6.49	8.43	3.24
Travelling	0.38	0.65	0.80	1.06	1.03	1.23	1.45	1.48	2.15	0.90
Beverages, tobacco, etc.	3.88	4.89	6.12	6.64	7.72	9.42	9.92	10.61	12.65	6.51
Total	7.82	11.61	14.95	18.48	21.99	25.97	29.22	33.04	39.20	17.13
Category (4):										
All others	1.14	1.93	2.87	4.01	4.69	6.74	6.94	9.79	13.22	3.63
Grand total	52.52	67.66	82.23	97.93	112.11	128.46	142.08	154.54	177.35	91.38
<i>Expenditure in Percentage</i>										
Category (1):										
Food	42.8	37.7	34.6	31.4	30.1	29.0	27.2	25.0	25.2	32.6
Housing	14.1	14.8	15.5	16.5	16.4	15.7	16.5	16.3	15.6	15.8
Clothing	9.8	11.8	12.5	13.1	13.7	14.2	15.0	15.8	13.7	13.0
Light and fuel	5.8	4.9	4.8	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.8	3.7	4.6
Total	72.5	69.2	67.4	65.5	64.5	63.0	62.7	60.9	58.2	66.0
Category (2):										
Hygiene	6.0	6.2	6.6	6.5	6.6	5.9	6.1	5.8	5.5	6.4
Schooling	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.8	3.3	3.1	2.6	3.3	2.8
Fares, postage, etc.	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.3	2.2	1.6
Taxes	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	1.2	0.6
Total	10.4	10.7	11.0	11.5	11.6	11.6	11.8	11.5	12.2	11.4
Category (3):										
Social expenses	4.5	8.1	6.5	7.3	7.8	7.8	8.1	9.4	9.0	7.1
Culture and recreation	2.3	2.9	3.3	3.7	4.0	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.8	3.6
Travelling	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0
Beverages, tobacco, etc.	7.4	7.2	7.4	6.8	6.9	7.3	7.0	7.0	7.1	7.1
Total	14.9	17.2	18.2	18.9	19.6	20.3	20.5	21.6	22.1	18.8
Category (4):										
All others	2.2	2.9	3.5	4.1	4.2	5.3	4.9	6.8	7.5	4.0
Grand total	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.2	99.9	100.3	100.0	100.2

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. II, pp. 326-329.

TABLE LVI. — AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE OF THE FAMILIES  
OF LAND WORKERS <sup>1</sup>

Item	Income group (yen)									
	Under 60	60- 80	80- 100	100- 120	120- 140	140- 160	160- 180	180- 200	Over 200	Aver- age
<i>Expenditure</i>										
Category (1):										
Food	27.18	35.01	39.01	44.23	49.52	49.81	50.88	45.83	53.60	39.68
Housing	7.97	10.65	14.41	16.26	19.51	23.20	24.21	26.09	27.24	14.64
Clothing	4.50	5.53	7.19	8.61	9.63	12.22	12.22	12.26	15.68	7.59
Light and fuel	4.38	4.96	5.67	6.84	7.38	7.16	7.40	6.77	7.63	5.89
Total	44.03	56.15	66.18	75.94	86.04	92.39	94.57	90.95	104.15	67.80
Category (2):										
Hygiene	1.75	2.30	2.47	2.71	3.59	4.37	4.01	5.85	4.69	2.71
Schooling	0.70	0.86	1.57	1.52	2.05	2.10	1.93	0.81	2.76	1.38
Fares, postage, etc.	0.75	0.90	1.44	1.67	1.83	2.52	2.20	1.09	5.22	1.46
Taxes	0.68	0.94	1.19	1.60	1.80	2.10	2.03	2.81	2.19	1.31
Total	3.88	5.00	6.67	7.50	9.27	11.09	10.22	10.36	14.86	6.86
Category (3):										
Social expenses	4.01	4.77	6.98	8.51	10.88	12.73	12.85	13.49	19.86	7.58
Culture and recreation	1.23	1.54	1.95	2.33	2.81	3.33	3.87	6.02	5.64	2.16
Travelling	0.23	0.35	0.45	0.80	0.97	0.48	1.35	2.20	1.67	0.58
Beverages, tobacco, etc.	2.85	3.57	4.38	4.59	5.61	6.13	6.61	5.45	7.82	4.33
Total	8.32	10.23	13.76	16.23	19.67	22.67	24.68	27.16	34.99	14.65
Category (4):										
All others	3.56	4.43	6.44	8.00	11.30	12.73	10.62	10.85	15.48	7.08
Grand total	59.79	75.81	93.05	107.87	126.28	138.88	140.09	139.32	169.48	96.39
<i>Expenditure in Percentage</i>										
Category (1):										
Food	45.5	46.2	41.9	41.1	39.2	35.9	36.3	32.9	31.6	41.2
Housing	13.3	14.1	15.4	15.1	15.5	16.7	17.3	18.7	16.1	15.2
Clothing	7.5	7.3	7.7	8.0	7.6	8.8	8.5	8.8	9.3	7.9
Light and fuel	7.3	6.5	6.1	6.4	5.8	5.2	5.3	4.9	4.5	6.1
Total	73.6	74.1	71.1	70.6	68.1	66.6	67.5	65.3	61.5	70.4
Category (2):										
Hygiene	2.9	3.0	2.7	2.5	2.8	3.2	2.9	4.2	2.8	2.8
Schooling	1.2	1.1	1.7	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.4	0.4	1.6	1.4
Fares, postage, etc.	1.3	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.8	1.6	0.8	3.1	1.5
Taxes	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	2.0	1.3	1.4
Total	6.5	6.5	7.2	7.0	7.2	8.0	7.4	7.4	8.8	7.1
Category (3):										
Social expenses	6.7	6.3	7.5	7.9	8.6	9.2	9.2	9.7	11.7	7.9
Culture and recreation	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.8	4.3	3.3	2.2
Travelling	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.4	1.0	1.6	1.0	0.6
Beverages, tobacco, etc.	4.8	4.7	4.7	4.3	4.0	4.4	4.7	3.9	4.6	4.5
Total	14.0	13.5	14.8	15.1	15.6	16.4	17.7	19.5	20.6	15.2
Category (4):										
All others	6.0	5.9	6.9	7.1	9.0	9.2	7.6	7.8	9.1	7.4
Grand total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.2	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.8

<sup>1</sup> *Kakei Chōsa Hōkoku*, 1926-1927, Vol. IV, pp. 128-131.

## CHAPTER IV

### INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS, ACCIDENT COMPENSATION AND MUTUAL AID

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#### *Industrial Accidents*

In the early years of the development of modern industry in Japan, accidents were naturally frequent. To-day the number of accidents in comparison with the total number of workers has to some extent diminished as a result of the growing safety movement and the widening scope of legislative or other preventive measures. In the following pages, the frequency of accidents in Japanese factories and mines will be dealt with, followed by an examination of the legislative and other measures taken for the compensation of industrial accidents<sup>1</sup>.

*Accidents in factories.* — Statistics of industrial accidents in Japanese factories cover fatal accidents, "serious injuries" requiring at least two weeks of absence from work for treatment, and "light injuries" requiring at least three days of absence.

Table LVII (A) shows the total numbers of industrial accidents recorded for the ten-year period 1921-1930 in Japanese factories, classified in main groups of industries, and (B) the fatal accidents. By far the largest number of accidents occurred in machine and tool factories; textile mills and chemical works taking the second and third places. As regards fatal accidents, however, machine and tool factories and chemical works are almost equal, while textile mills show a much lower number.

Table LVIII gives for the year 1930 the accident rate per 1,000 workers in the same groups of industries. The highest accident rate was in machine and tool shops, followed by the

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<sup>1</sup> Legislative and other measures for the prevention of accidents will be dealt with in the next chapter.

State-owned factories, which are largely engaged in dangerous processes, most of them being munition factories or arsenals, chemical works and gas and electricity undertakings. The rate for fatal accidents in 1930 was highest in the gas, electricity and smelting group, followed by State-owned factories, chemical works and machine shops. Both the total accident rate and the fatal accident rate in textiles is shown to be much lower than in other industries.

TABLE LVII (A). — ACCIDENTS IN VARIOUS FACTORIES, 1921-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Total number of workers	Number of accidents						State factories	Total number of accidents	Rate per 1,000 workers in all factories
		Private factories								
		Textile	Machine and tools	Chemical	Food and drink	Gas, electricity, smelting	Miscellaneous			
1921	1,637,918	8,040	16,555	5,805	416	1,322	835	21,473	54,446	33.2
1922	1,626,292	8,592	13,856	5,785	580	1,253	1,248	7,517	38,831	23.8
1923	1,571,892	8,890	13,738	6,429	839	1,226	1,324	11,810	44,256	28.1
1924	1,638,629	8,716	13,354	6,627	1,148	880	1,606	12,722	45,053	27.5
1925	1,666,715	9,585	11,735	4,769	1,095	877	1,082	11,868	41,011	24.6
1926	1,837,870	10,491	17,089	6,648	1,103	1,068	1,584	11,829	49,812	27.1
1927	1,821,124	9,864	20,696	7,935	1,332	1,000	4,010	12,115	57,032	31.3
1928	1,869,668	9,19	22,247	7,541	1,146	866	3,665	9,812	54,496	28.1
1929	1,999,116	8,955	25,691	8,675	1,141	932	3,809	8,910	58,113	28.5
1930	1,839,773	7,170	21,452	8,287	1,169	978	4,214	7,714	50,984	27.7

TABLE LVII (B). — FATAL ACCIDENTS IN VARIOUS FACTORIES, 1921-1930<sup>2</sup>

Year	Private factories						State factories	Total number of fatal accidents
	Textile	Machine and tools	Chemical	Food and drink	Gas, electricity, smelting	Miscellaneous		
1921	60	77	57	2	9	9	65	279
1922	44	94	54	8	9	20	43	272
1923 <sup>3</sup>	428	105	87	13	4	75	233	1,003
1924	42	55	40	8	10	17	35	207
1925	61	40	48	8	9	15	27	208
1926	56	84	63	6	12	15	42	278
1927	36	64	78	17	25	50	35	314
1928	41	33	82	12	22	58	50	348
1929	60	106	102	16	33	62	32	411
1930	17	81	63	11	22	49	59	302

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran* (1929 edition), pp. 73, 242-243, supplemented with *Rōdō Jihō*, Dec 1929, p. 15, Dec 1930, p. 8, and Dec. 1931, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The unusual rate of fatal accidents in 1923 was no doubt due to the earthquake which took place in September

TABLE LVIII. — PROPORTION OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS  
IN VARIOUS FACTORIES, 1930<sup>1</sup>

Kind of factory	Deaths		Serious injuries		Light injuries		All accidents per 1,000 workers
	Number of deaths	Rate per 1,000 workers	Number of serious injuries	Rate per 1,000 workers	Number of light injuries	Rate per 1,000 workers	
Textile	17	0.02	1,571	1.75	5,582	6.20	7.97
Machine and tools	81	0.30	4,009	14.88	17,362	64.50	79.68
Chemical	63	0.32	1,611	8.23	6,613	33.79	42.34
Foods and drinks	11	0.13	298	3.56	860	9.09	12.78
Gas, electricity and smelting	22	0.87	283	11.24	673	26.72	38.83
Miscellaneous	49	0.27	1,480	8.24	2,685	14.97	23.48
Total and average	243	0.15	9,252	5.60	33,775	20.43	26.18
State-owned factories	59	0.46	1,936	14.94	5,719	44.13	59.53
Grand total or average	302	0.17	11,188	6.27	39,494	22.15	27.7

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, Dec 1931, p 10

The next table shows that in 1930 the number of fatal or serious accidents which occurred in connection with machinery in operation and installations for power transmission was not much less than the number due to all other causes. The percentage of deaths to the number of fatal or serious accidents was highest in the case of electricity and lowest in the case of transport.

The sex classification of the workers killed or seriously injured is as follows :

Men injured . . . . .	8,732, including 237 deaths
Women injured . . . . .	763                      "                      6                      "

Thus over 90 per cent. of the victims were men; most of the women injured or killed were in cotton-spinning or weaving mills and filatures where women are almost exclusively employed, and where, as tables LVII and LVIII showed, the accident rate is low.



TABLE IIV. — CAUSES OF ACCIDENTS IN PRIVATE FACTORIES, 1930<sup>1</sup>

	Deaths	Serious injuries including deaths	Percentages of deaths to all serious accidents
A. Accidents caused by machinery in motion or in connection with the apparatus for power transmission :			
1. Motors or power transmission apparatus	39	589	6.6
2. Machine-saws	23	558	4.1
3. Cogwheels	4	402	1.0
4. Punch presses	—	313	—
5. Derricks with motors	17	257	6.6
6. Derricks without motors	5	389	1.2
7. Other mechanical causes	8	1,538	0.4
Total	96	4,046	2.3
B. Other accidents :			
1. Transport or handling of goods	8	1,745	0.4
2. Falling objects	12	876	1.3
3. Falls	22	649	3.3
4. Scalding or burning	13	500	2.6
5. Explosive or inflammable substances	28	163	17.1
6. Electricity	35	140	25.0
7. Other	29	1,376	3.2
Total	147	5,449	2.6

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, July 1931, pp. 12-13.

*Accidents in mines.* — The number of accidents in Japanese mines has decreased generally during the past twenty years, although it rose sharply once in 1927. The fluctuations in the number of accidents have, however, been due mostly to the rise or fall of the total mining force. For instance, there was a great increase of accidents during, and for a few years after, the Great War, when Japanese mines were working at a pressure unknown before. From about 1916 to 1919, however, the increase in the number of miners was abnormal, reaching in 1919 the figure of 464,727, the maximum number of miners who have ever been employed at one time in Japanese mines. The number of accidents rose correspondingly in those three years, reaching its highest point in 1919 when 218,873 accidents with 930 deaths were recorded and no fewer than 6,378

"grave injuries"<sup>1</sup>. The highest number of fatal accidents (1,099 deaths) in the last decade, occurred in the following year (1920), when the total number of workers in mines was 439,159. and in 1927 with 1,002 deaths, when there was only a small increase in the number of miners employed in comparison with 1926. The percentage of accidents has varied from over 60 per cent to 45 per cent. within the last ten years.

The general experience that cases of accident are far more frequent in underground than in surface work holds good in Japan, there being nearly three times as many deaths and injuries in the pits as on the surface.

Table LX shows the number of accidents for the years 1920-1929 and the accident rate for the year 1929.

TABLE LX (A). — NUMBER OF ACCIDENTS IN MINES, 1920-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Deaths	Grave injuries	Slight injuries	Total number of accidents	Total number of miners	Rate per 1,000 workers in all mines
1920	1,099	5,843	197,189	204,131	439,159	464.8
1921	694	5,816	169,614	176,124	328,808	535.6
1922	585	6,277	158,756	165,618	300,860	550.0
1923	741	6,559	181,311	188,611	332,387	567.7
1924	903	7,311	168,391	176,605	305,252	583.4
1925	786	5,643	181,869	188,298	310,426	606.5
1926	801	3,798	154,678	159,277	293,562	542.5
1927	1,002	3,277	160,316	164,595	295,629	556.7
1928	891	3,116	138,857	142,864	293,172	487.3
1929	964	3,373	126,046	130,383	287,229	453.9

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Yoran* (1929 edition), pp 72, 250 and 252, and *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan* (1931 edition), p. 244

<sup>1</sup> These are injuries involving the loss of a limb, permanent wounds or injuries to the eye, ear, etc., or other cases requiring the absence from work for thirty days or longer for treatment. The description "grave injury" in mines differs from a "serious injury" in factories. (The verbal distinction has purposely been made in translation, though in Japanese the word "*Jū-shō*" (heavy wound) is used indiscriminately to mean two cases which differ greatly). There is a similar distinction between "light injury" in factories, and "slight injury" in mines, which are designated in Japanese by the word "*Kei-shō*" (light wound) indiscriminately. The "light injury" in factories requires a treatment of three days or more but less than two weeks, while the "slight injury" in mines requires a treatment of from three to thirty days. This lack of uniformity of definition makes it impossible to compare the factory and mining accident statistics.

TABLE LX (B). -- RATE OF ACCIDENTS PER 1,000 MINERS (SURFACE AND UNDERGROUND) IN VARIOUS MINES, 1929<sup>1</sup>

Kind of mine	Surface or underground	Deaths	All non-fatal injuries
Metal mines	{ Underground	2.74	272.1
	{ Surface	0.14	151.2
	{ Average	1.62	204.5
Coal mines	{ Underground	4.96	633.3
	{ Surface	0.63	186.8
	{ Average	3.85	518.8
Oil wells	—	0.68	85.4
Other non-metal mines	{ Underground	0.51	89.0
	{ Surface	—	99.1
	{ Average	0.23	94.6
Total	Underground	4.67	588.3
	Surface	0.65	167.5

<sup>1</sup> *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan* (1931 edition), p 244

The largest number of accidents in Japanese mines arise from the collapse of gallery roofs ; every year more than a third of the total number of mining accidents are attributed to this cause. The actual number of the cases of collapse of roofs has diminished in recent years, but the number of men buried by roof falls has nevertheless increased ; more than half the deaths are caused by falls. A large number of deaths also occur from accidents in connection with the haulage systems, and also through unforeseen explosions. Electric shock, defective machinery or the use of defective tools produce many accidents in mines, but both in regard to the number and gravity of accidents roof-falls are the most serious.

### *Accident Compensation*

*Legal provisions.* — The underlying principle of Japanese compensation law is that the burden of increased liability to accidents due to the general adoption of mechanical methods in industry must not be borne by the workers themselves but by the industry concerned.

Under the Factory Act<sup>1</sup>, the principle of accident compensation applies to factories where normally ten or more workers are employed<sup>2</sup>. It also applies to factories "where the work is of a dangerous nature or injurious to health"<sup>3</sup>, regardless of the number of workers employed. The processes which are considered as dangerous or injurious to health are defined in the Ordinance for the administration of the Factory Act. They include some sixty different items, among which are: the handling of mercury, lead and any poisonous chemicals or substances; the manufacture of matches; taxidermy; smelting or refining of metal; manufacture of gunpowder, ether, varnishes; napping or trimming of woven or knitted goods; manufacture of cotton-wool; hackling of hemp; sorting of old cotton, cotton rags, or old hemp, waste paper, waste cotton thread or rags; fur-dressing; tanning; manufacture of glue; hair and feather dressing, etc. The Minister of the Interior is empowered to include any other items in the list if he deems it necessary.

Under the Mining Act of 1905, and the Mines Regulations of 1916<sup>4</sup> all miners in private mines are entitled to compensation: accident compensation for miners employed in the State-owned mines is dealt with by special Ordinances, the benefits being much the same in amount as those provided for in the factory and mining legislation.

At the beginning of 1932 two new laws, both promulgated in 1931, were put into operation: the Act concerning relief of workers in case of accidents and the Act concerning insurance against liability for relief of workers in case of accidents<sup>5</sup>. Under these Acts some 1,750,000 workers engaged in civil engineering, construction, transport, communications, etc., are entitled to workmen's compensation<sup>6</sup>. Hitherto these workers had no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1923, Jap. 1, and 1926, Jap. 1; the Factory Act of 1911 and Amended Factory Act of 1923, sections 1 and 15: Ordinance for the administration of the Factory Act, 1916, and Amended Ordinance, 1926, sections 4-20; Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act, 1916, and the Amended Regulations, 1926, sections 1, 13-15, 19, 23-25, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly fifteen workers.

<sup>3</sup> State-owned factories, arsenals and workplaces do not come under the Factory Act, compensation being provided by special Ordinances.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 2; 1924, Jap. 2; 1928, Jap. 1; and 1929, Jap. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 1931, Jap. 1 and 2.

<sup>6</sup> If these are added to the 2,250,000 in factories and mines who already possess a claim to workmen's compensation, approximately 4,000,000 workers are covered by this legislation.

legal protection in case of accidents beyond that provided by the Civil Code (sections 415 et seq.). This was based on the principle that in order to claim damages for injury the worker must prove either that the accident was due to negligence or a deliberate act of the employer, or that the employer had specifically violated the worker's right. The procedure was slow and complicated and it was generally too costly for the worker to attempt to put the law in motion. The situation is now reversed, the employer being compelled to pay compensation if there is injury, the burden of proof falling upon him if he disclaims liability for compensation. Moreover, the Act concerned with insurance provides facilities for meeting the cost of compensation.

Meanwhile, a fundamental change in the legislation on workmen's compensation had taken place in 1923. The prescription of the law that any accident to be compensated must have occurred "through no serious fault of the worker himself" was repealed, so that henceforward any worker injured or seized with illness when at work automatically became entitled to compensation. If he died as a result of the illness or accident, compensation became payable to his family, and the application of this provision was further widened by the addition of the words "or any person who was dependent on the earnings of the worker at the time of his or her death".

The conditions governing workers' compensation under the factory and mining laws are as follows<sup>1</sup>.

In the event of injury, illness or death of the worker arising out of or in the course of his employment, the employer must compensate him, his family or the person dependent upon his or her earnings. The dismissal of the worker does not affect the obligation to grant compensation, except in cases for which special provision is made. Should the victim of the accident receive an indemnity according to the provisions of the Civil Code, the employer is entitled to deduct from the compensation which he grants an amount equal to the indemnity already granted to the worker<sup>2</sup>.

In the case of sickness or injury sustained by the perfor-

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<sup>1</sup> The conditions are somewhat inferior in the new Act concerning the relief of workers in case of accidents (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1931, Jap. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1923, Jap. 1, section 15. An exactly similar amendment has been made in the Mining Act (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1924, Jap. 2).

mance of work, the employer must supply medical treatment to the victim at his own expense, or bear the expenses of medical treatment. During the time the injured worker is unable to earn wages by reason of his or her absence from work for treatment, the employer must grant monetary daily benefit amounting to at least 60 per cent.<sup>1</sup> of the daily wages to which the worker is entitled. The amount of the benefit may be reduced to the minimum of 40 per cent.<sup>2</sup> if the grant is continued for more than 180 days<sup>3</sup>. If no recovery from the injury is made within a period of three years, the grant of the compensation may be discontinued on payment of an amount which must at least be equivalent to 180 days' wages<sup>4</sup>. This is called the "final allowance" (*Uchikiri fujoryo*).

Permanent physical or mental disability occasioned by accident must be compensated in the following scale (the scale indicates the minimum requirements)<sup>5</sup>:

(a) If hopelessly maimed for life . . . . .	540 days' wages
(b) If disabled for work for life . . . . .	360 " "
(c) If disabled for resumption of former work, permanently broken down in health, or, in the case of a women, if disfigured with scars on the face. . . . .	180 " "
(d) If maimed, but able to resume former work	40 " "

In the event of the death of a worker arising out of work, the employer must pay to the surviving family or relative of the worker, or any person maintained by the earnings of the worker at the time of his or her death, an amount equivalent to at least 360 days' wages<sup>6</sup>, besides money for funeral expenses equivalent to twenty days' wages or a minimum of 20 yen<sup>7</sup>, in case the wages for twenty days do not reach that amount.

An injured worker who has been dismissed by an employer loses his right to compensation unless the claim is entered within a year from the date of dismissal. No claim to compensation lies against an employer in respect of an injury which had appa-

<sup>1</sup> Before the amendment, which became effective in 1926, one-half of the wages.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly one-third.

<sup>3</sup> Before 1926, three months.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly 170 days.

<sup>5</sup> Formerly 170 days for (a), 150 days for (b), 100 days for (c), 30 days for (d).

<sup>6</sup> Formerly 170 days' wages.

<sup>7</sup> Formerly 10 yen.

rently been cured by medical treatment and which recurs after the dismissal of the worker.

Every employer must draft rules governing the amount of compensation, the procedure and other matters relating to compensation, and submit them to the prefectural Governor who may order alterations to be made in the rules for compensation if he deems it necessary; alterations in the rules made by the employer must also be submitted for approval.

*Compensation paid.* — Every year, compensation amounting in money to some 1,400,000 yen is paid in respect of over 13,000 workers in private factories and 20,000 workers in State-owned factories (arsenals, dockyards, etc.), who are injured or killed. Out of the 13,000 injured in private factories, approximately half receive only sickness benefit for slight injuries which do not entail absence from work; the sum paid out for such cases in 1930 was about 85,000 yen. In the same year 264 workers lost their lives in accidents, and the compensation granted in the form of survivors' allowances and funeral benefit amounted to nearly 210,000 yen. There were also about 6,000 workers to whom the absence allowance was granted, the total amounting to some 90,000 yen. For details of the amounts of compensation paid to factory workers, see table LXI.

The amount of accident compensation paid to miners in cash is much the same as in the case of factory workers. During 1929, 12,843 miners received compensation amounting to 1,759,158 yen. The "injury allowance" was the largest item of allowances paid in compensation, 851,499 yen, or 49 per cent. of the total, and the "survivors' allowance" was next in importance, 555,028 yen, or 32 per cent. "Absence allowances" totalled 179,061 yen, and sickness allowances given in money 155,730 yen. By far the largest proportion of accident compensation paid to miners, 89 per cent., went to coal miners. The number of women miners who received compensation was 947.

*Additional allowances.* — In addition to the accident compensation prescribed by law, further allowances are in some cases spontaneously given by employers. The amounts granted are stated to be often considerable, but where there is a schedule of the allowances it is generally kept secret. Grants of money are also occasionally made to men who leave employment temporarily for military service, and some companies have fixed rates for such grants.

TABLE LXI. — WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION PAID TO FACTORY WORKERS,  
1930 <sup>1</sup>A. — *Classified by Industries*

Kind of factories	Number of workers injured (or killed)	Amount of compensation (in yen)
<i>Privates factories</i>	13,915	892,652
Textiles	2,329	90,289
Machine and tool	6,847	487,560
Chemical	3,581	159,371
Food and drink	360	21,559
Gas, electricity and smelting	305	49,658
Miscellaneous	493	84,215
<i>State-owned factories</i>	21,875	502,751
Total	35,790	1,395,403

B. — *Classified by the Extent of Injuries*

Extent of injuries	Number of workers	Amount of compensation (in yen)
<i>Private factories</i>	13,915	892,652
Those who received sickness allowance only without being absent from work	5,296	84,466
Those who received the absence allowance only	5,886	91,072
Incapacitated for life	139	190,336
Maimed permanently	1,998	381,173
Killed	264	Survivors' benefit 202,744
		Funeral benefit 7,375
		210,119
Aid discontinued after receiving allowance for three years	14	19,486
Others <sup>2</sup>	318	
<i>State-owned factories</i>	21,875	502,751
Total	35,790	1,395,403

<sup>1</sup> Rōdō Jihō, Dec 1931, pp 9-12.<sup>2</sup> The workers injured during the year and not recovered till the end of the year are under this heading. The amount of compensation paid to them cannot be ascertained because it is transferred to the following year.

Table LXII gives examples of additional compensation which were collected during a recent investigation made by *Kyocho Kai*.



TABLE LXII. — ADDITIONAL RATES OF COMPENSATION PAID IN SOME FACTORIES AND MINES, APRIL 1929<sup>1</sup>

Kind of allowance	Legal minimum	Factories						Mines	
		Silk reeling mills	Cotton spinning mills	A machine and tools factory	Another machine shop	A chemical factory	Another chemical factory	A metal mine	An oil well
1. Absence allowances up to 180th day of absence from work due to industrial accident	60 per cent. of wages	80 per cent. if not due to worker's fault			Entire amount of wages is paid	(For injury without own fault) Wages plus 10% till 14th day. 20% till 90th day. 10% till 180th day	Whole wage	70 % of wages	Whole wage for 3 months, thereafter 60 % of the wage
After the 181st day of absence	40 per cent. of wages	60 per cent.							
2. Aid-terminating allowance	Equivalent of 540 days' wages		650 days' wages						
3. Injury allowances First degree	Equivalent of 540 days' wages	(Serious injuries) From 650 to 700 days' wages	650 days' wages				Varies according to degree of injury		
Second degree	360 days' wages	480-540 days' wages	430 days' wages						
Third degree	180 days' wages	300-360 days' wages	220 days' wages	10-40 % increased for long service					
Fourth degree	40 days' wages	100-128 days' wages	70 days' wages	20-25 % increased for long service					
4. Surviving family allowances	Equivalent of 360 days' wages		430 days' wages				400 days if very young, old or invalid	Minimum 40 yen	510 days' wages
5. Funeral allowances	Equivalent of 20 days' wages and minimum 20 yen		Minimum 30 yen						Minimum 30 yen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sakin no Shikai Undo, p. 926. The compensation for the items left blank did not exceed the legal requirements.

*Mutual-Aid Societies*

*State-owned undertakings.* — Some years before legislation provided for accident compensation for factory workers and miners, a system of mutual aid among industrial workers had already been developed in Japan. The system has been most widely adopted in Government undertakings, where it has been encouraged by the Government. Its development among private enterprises is still insignificant as compared with the mutual-aid system among Government workers.

The Ordinance<sup>1</sup> for the relief of State workers was issued to ensure that workers in State undertakings who do not belong to a mutual-aid society should receive the same compensation for accidents as the workers in private employment; the Ordinance does not apply to workers who belong to mutual-aid societies subsidised by the State. It was necessary because there are in State undertakings a considerable number of workers ineligible for membership of the mutual-aid society, being (1) only temporarily employed, (2) under probation, (3) voluntary workers without fixed payment, (4) of foreign nationality, etc. Those who belong to any one of these categories are covered by the Ordinance for the relief of State workers, even if a mutual-aid society exists in the works where they are employed.

Mutual-aid societies in State undertakings have developed since 1907, when the formation of a society of railway workers was authorised by an Imperial Ordinance for the first time<sup>2</sup>. Similar societies were founded for the workers in the Monopoly Bureau (manufacture and sale of tobacco, sale of salt, etc.) in 1908, for the workers in telephone, telegraph and postal services as well as the workers in the Government Printing Office in 1909, for the Naval Arsenal Workers in 1912, for the workers in the State iron-foundry in 1922, for the workers in the Mint in 1923, for the Military Arsenal workers in 1926, etc. Such societies also exist for policemen, firemen, labourers employed in the civil engineering enterprises undertaken by the Government (Department of the Interior), forestry workers in State-owned forests (Department of Agriculture and Forestry), and workers em-

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<sup>1</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 239 to amend the Ordinance for the relief of State workers, dated 30 June 1926 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1 (D)).

<sup>2</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 127 of 1907 decreeing the formation of a Mutual-Aid Society of Railway Workers.

ployed by the colonial Governments of Chōsen (Korea), Taiwan (Formosa), Karafuto (Sakhalin), Kantō-chō (Kwantung), etc. The total membership of mutual-aid societies in State undertakings was 574,383 in 1929, and the amounts of benefits granted was 16,539,570 yen, while the total revenue amounted to 41,275,363 yen<sup>1</sup>.

The organisation of the mutual-aid societies in State undertakings is practically uniform. They are under the control of the Minister of the Department to which the undertaking belongs. All permanently employed workers and clerks of Japanese nationality are admitted as members. The State grants to the society annually a subsidy equivalent to 3 per cent. of the maximum total amount of the wages of the members. The members pay a monthly contribution amounting to about 6 per cent. of their monthly wages and receive in return benefits in cases of injury incurred in service, invalidity, sickness, retirement from work, death and natural calamity (such as fire, flood, earthquake, etc.). An example of the scale of benefits granted is afforded by the Mutual-Aid Society of Japanese State Railways:

TABLE LXIII. — BENEFITS GRANTED BY THE MUTUAL-AID SOCIETY OF THE JAPANESE STATE RAILWAYS

Kind of allowance	Nature of claim	Amounts granted
1. <i>Injury benefits granted for injury incurred in the performance of work:</i>		
(a) Injury pension	Blinded totally, lost two limbs or hopelessly incapacitated	Sum equivalent to 7 to 9 months' wages, paid annually till death

<sup>1</sup> The revenue and expenditure of mutual-aid societies in State undertakings in 1929 were as follows:

Revenue		Expenditure	
	Yen		Yen
Members' contributions	16,283,391	Survivors' benefits	2,782,316
State grant	13,347,592	Invalidity benefits	626,423
Interest on capital	11,405,375	Medical benefits	2,952,853
Gifts	275	Retirement allowance	6,841,570
Sundries	238,730	Long service prizes	1,182,268
		Fire benefit	49,913
Total	41,275,363	Health insurance benefits	1,756,819
		Sundries	266,632
		Total	16,458,793

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 50th *Nihon Teikokou Tōkei Nenkan*, p. 246.

TABLE LXIII. — *continued*

Kind of allowance	Nature of claim	Amounts granted
(b) Injury pension	Lost one limb, or permanently incapacitated for work	4 to 6 months' wages annually till death
(c) Lump-sum grant	Incapacitated though able to move about and retired from work	8 to 18 months' wages
(d) Lump-sum grant	Injured permanently, but continuing former work	1 to 6 months' wages
2. <i>Invalidity benefits granted for injury or sickness which obliged the members to give up work :</i>		
(a) Invalidity pension for workers who have been members for at least ten years :	Blinded totally, lost two limbs, or hopelessly incapacitated by permanent sickness or injury	5 to 6 months' wages paid annually till death
(b) Invalidity pension for workers who have been members for at least ten years :	Lost one limb or permanently incapacitated for work through sickness or injury though able to move about	3 to 4 months' wages
(c) Lump sum granted for occupational disease or tuberculosis	After 1 year's membership	3 months' wages
	After 3 years' membership	6 months' wages
	After 5 years' membership	9 months' wages
	After 7 years' membership	12 months' wages
3. <i>Sickness benefits :</i>		
(a) Medical benefit	If treated by the railway doctor or at the railway hospital	Five-tenths of the cost
	If infectious or occupational diseases, including tuberculosis	Seven-tenths of the cost
(b) Absence benefit	If absent from work because of 3 (a)	Five-tenths of the wages paid from the fifth day of absence

TABLE LXIII. — *continued*

Kind of allowance	Nature of claim	Amounts granted
(c) Maternity benefit	If not recipient of 3 (b)	Five-tenths of the wages paid for 10 weeks
4. Retirement benefits:		
(a) Retirement pension	If a member for 15 years	One-quarter of the wages for a year paid till death
	If a member for 20 years	One-third of the same
	If a member for longer than 20 years	1 per cent. of the wages for a year is added for each additional year of membership
(b) Lump-sum grant	If a member for 6 months or more	10 days' wages for each additional 6 months' membership
5. Death benefits:		
(a) Survivor's pension	For death incurred by sickness or injury in service	4 months' wages
	If the deceased was member for 15 years or more	5    "    "
(b) Lump-sum grant	If the deceased was member for more than one year	6    "    "
	1-3 years' membership	9    "    "
	3-6 years' membership	12    "    "
	6-10 years' membership	15    "    "
	10 or more years' membership	18    "    "
(c) Funeral benefit	For death incurred in service	3    "    "
	For others	1    "    "
6. Calamity benefits:		
(a) Personal calamity benefits	For fire, earthquake, flood, etc., incurred by the member himself	2 months' wages or less
(b) Family calamity benefits	For sickness or injury in the family	10 days' wages or less, payable only once a year
(c) Family death benefit	For death in the family	10 days' wages or less

*Privately owned undertakings.* — No detailed information is available in regard to mutual-aid societies in private undertakings, but according to official statistics there are over 3,000 "friendly societies", the chief function of which is mutual aid, with an aggregate membership of over 500,000 scattered over all parts of Japan<sup>1</sup>. An enquiry was conducted by the Government in 1927 in order to ascertain the extent to which mutual-aid societies had spread in certain classes of private undertakings<sup>2</sup>. However, no general description of these societies is possible owing to the fact that they are vastly different one from another and unlike the mutual-aid societies in State undertakings, there is no legislation which facilitates the growth of new societies on more or less uniform lines. A brief account of the way in which contributions were paid and benefits granted by some of the societies is given below.

In stone works and quarries, the employer contributed to the society 1.5 sen per 1,000 *kan*<sup>3</sup> of the rough stone, while the worker paid 0.7 sen per *kan* handled by him, or 5.0 sen per day on a daily basis instead of by amount of work performed. In cases of injury or sickness the worker received in compensation free treatment and board, or their equivalent in money; if obliged to be absent from work on account of injury or sickness for ten days, he was paid 3 yen as absence benefit. For an absence of from 10 to 20 days, the benefit might be increased to 7 yen. In case of death, the allowance paid to the family of the deceased ranged between 50 yen and 200 yen, the exact amount being determined by the length of service which the worker had rendered.

In building and civil engineering works, the maximum contribution of the employers was equal to the total amount of the

<sup>1</sup> In 1930, there were 3,336 friendly societies with a total membership of 503,998. Of these societies, 1,883 had named mutual aid as their principal object. There were 170 societies with more than 500 members; 1,711 societies with 101-500 members; 1,227 societies with 51-100 members; 228 with 50 or less members (Cf. 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, p. 247).

<sup>2</sup> The enquiry was made only in respect of undertakings which would be covered by the Act concerning the relief of workers in case of accidents. The enquiry showed that the societies existed as follows:

Stone works and quarries . . . . .	2
Building and engineering . . . . .	13
Privately owned railways and tramways . . . . .	53
Omnibus services . . . . .	10
Other transport and general work . . . . .	20
Loading and unloading . . . . .	11
Total . . . . .	109

<sup>3</sup> A *kan* or *kwan* equals 8.267 pounds or 3.75 kilograms.

workers' contributions. The contributions of the workers varied in amount, the highest amount being a day's wage per month, while the lowest amount fixed by a society was 1 yen per year. In the first case, the medical benefit granted was half the actual cost, and the absence allowance half the daily wage. Injury and invalidity benefits ranged between 20 and 500 days' wages, paid, presumably, in a lump sum. The death and funeral benefit was a sum equivalent to three months' wages; to this might be added a survivors' allowance of between 300 and 600 days' wages of the deceased. In the case of the minimum contribution of only 1 yen per year, the rule was to grant 5 yen if the worker was obliged to be absent from work by sickness or injury for thirty days, and 20 yen at the death of the worker.

In railways and tramways the conditions were more favourable. The largest contribution made in any instance by an employer was twice the total amount of the worker's monthly contribution, when the worker paid 0.5 per cent. of his monthly wages, and received medical benefit equivalent to a maximum amount of 20 yen. Permanent injuries and invalidity were compensated by amounts varying between 20 yen and 500 yen. The minimum allowance granted at the death of the worker was 100 yen. The smallest contribution by an employer was half the worker's contribution, where a married member paid 50 sen per month, and a single member only 20 sen. The society in this case paid medical costs and a funeral benefit varying from 10 yen to 15 yen.

For other transport undertakings, including omnibus services, the information is incomplete. There was one case of an omnibus proprietor paying to the society 0.2 per cent. of the total amount of passenger fares received per month. In this case the worker's contribution varied with sex or grade, but usually it was either 1 per cent. of the wages per month or a sum of 50 sen or less. In Tokyo, most societies paid an absence allowance of 1 yen per day for ninety days. Invalidity and injury benefit varied between 15 yen and 500 yen, according to the gravity of the injury or sickness. No mention is made of medical benefit in the report. A death benefit of 500 yen was paid by some societies in Tokyo, but in other cases only a death benefit of 20 yen or so was paid, without any provisions for absence, invalidity or other benefits.

In warehouses and other places where heavy goods are loaded and unloaded the employer contributed 15 yen and the worker

1 yen per month. When absence from work resulting from sickness or injury lasted more than ten days, the worker received, from the eleventh day till the fortieth, a daily allowance of 1 yen, and from the forty-first day till the seventieth day, 70 yen. He received besides a medical allowance of 30 yen or less; when disabled by injury, the benefit ranged between 20 yen and 150 yen, and in cases of fatal accidents while at work, a death benefit of 200 yen or less was paid. The most unfavourable conditions were found in a society where the contribution of both the employer and the worker was 20 sen per month; for a month's absence the employer paid 10 yen, and only 30 yen for fatal injury.

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## CHAPTER V

### HEALTH AND SAFETY OF WORKERS

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#### *Health Conditions in Factories and Mines*

*Sickness among factory workers.* — No sickness statistics are available for Japanese factories generally, and the partial statistics which are most useful are not of very recent date. From time to time the Government collects and publishes information from various prefectures considered to be representative, and it also occasionally compiles and publishes sickness statistics of factories in all parts of Japan where not less than 500 workers are employed. The most recent figures available for these large factories are for the year 1926, and they are used in the following paragraphs as being most indicative of the situation in large-scale Japanese industry.

These statistics are contained in the Factory Inspection Report for 1926<sup>1</sup> and show in the first place the comparative frequency

TABLE LXIV. — CASES OF SICKNESS AND INJURY  
IN FACTORIES EMPLOYING AT LEAST 500 WORKERS, 1926<sup>1</sup>

	Numbers			Percentages		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Injured	20,542	5,698	26,240	34.49	4.04	13.09.
Sick	39,009	135,239	174,248	65.51	95.96	86.91
Total	59,551	140,937	200,488	100.00	100.00	100.00

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1926, p. 175

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō* (Annual Report of Factory Inspection), 1926, pp. 177-189.

of sickness and accidents, the cases selected being those which require at least three days' treatment and absence from work. Table LXIV shows that out of 200,488 cases, sickness accounted for 174,248, and also that the sickness rate was higher for women than men, being about 77 per cent., while the accident rate was higher in the case of men (78 per cent.).

The following table shows the sickness and injury rates per thousand workers employed, on the basis of the above figures.

TABLE LXV. — SICKNESS AND INJURY RATES PER 1,000 WORKERS  
IN FACTORIES EMPLOYING AT LEAST 500 WORKERS, 1926<sup>1</sup>

	Men	Women	Average
Injury rate	96.5	14.2	42.8
Sickness rate	183.3	338.4	284.5

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1926 p. 176

Among the undertakings covered by the 1926 investigation, textile mills employed the largest number of workers. For this reason, and because women workers predominate in the textile industry, it was obvious that the largest number of cases of sickness reported should relate to that industry. A study of the morbidity statistics classified by industries given in table LXVI also shows, however, that the sickness rate generally was higher in the textile industry than in other industries. In 1926 the sickness rate for men and women together was 314 per thousand workers. Of these, 60 per 1,000 workers suffered from affections of the stomach and intestinal diseases, forms of sickness which might be attributed to coarse food or malnutrition. Recently many prefectural authorities are making special efforts to improve the quality of the food of factory workers. Textile workers also suffered considerably from bronchitis (23.94 per 1,000) and beri-beri (12.80 per 1,000), although workers in the food and drink trades were most affected by the latter disease (20.55 per 1,000).

The sickness rates in the other groups of factories covered by the enquiry were: miscellaneous 284.82; gas, electricity and smelting 190.58; food and drink trades 184.78; chemical 178.07; machine and tool 18.00.

If all the groups of factories are taken together, the total

TABLE LXVI. — MORBIDITY OF FACTORY WORKERS IN PRIVATELY-OWNED FACTORIES, CLASSIFIED BY FACTORIES  
AND PRINCIPAL DISEASES, 1926<sup>1</sup>  
(Actual number of patients and ratio per 1,000 workers)

Factories	Sex	Pulmonary tuber- culosis	Beri beri	Trachoma	Wet Pleurisy	Bronchitis	Stomach and intestinal	Contagious skin diseases	Totals
Textile mills (Total number engaged : 470,871)	Men	282	729	349	689	4,333	3,356	57	16,901
	Women	1,054	5,295	2,835	3,869	9,938	23,316	465	130,918
	Total Per mille	1,336 2.80	6,024 12.80	3,184 6.76	4,558 9.85	14,271 23.94	28,672 60.15	522 1.10	147,819 314.06
Machine and tool shops (Total number engaged : 88,067)	Men	377	1,038	89	495	1,020	2,410	11	14,642
	Women	25	96	11	20	73	167	4	1,211
	Total Per mille	402 4.67	1,134 12.08	100 1.13	515 5.84	1,093 12.41	2,577 29.26	15 0.17	15,853 18.00
Chemical factories (Total number engaged : 38,265)	Men	60	319	51	154	264	841	3	4,903
	Women	12	72	43	30	71	264	2	1,901
	Total Per mille	72 1.86	391 10.21	94 1.67	184 4.80	335 9.53	1,105 29.91	5 0.13	6,804 178.07
Food and drink manufactories (Total number engaged : 4,378)	Men	4	67	4	39	38	146	10	624
	Women	—	23	—	4	17	32	—	185
	Total Per mille	4 0.92	90 20.55	4 0.92	43 9.89	55 12.56	178 40.65	10 2.28	809 184.78
Gas, electricity, smelting (Total number engaged : 2,104)	Men	2	2	5	19	35	62	—	359
	Women	—	2	2	1	4	6	—	42
	Total Per mille	2 0.95	4 1.90	7 3.32	20 9.50	39 18.53	68 32.31	—	401 190.58
Miscellaneous factories (Total number engaged : 8,985)	Men	31	51	18	84	72	219	—	1,580
	Women	1	7	—	82	39	110	1	182
	Total Per mille	32 3.66	58 6.44	18 2.00	166 18.44	111 12.34	329 36.57	1 0.11	2,562 281.82
Grand total (Total number engaged : 612,480)	Men	758	2,206	516	4,460	2,762	7,034	81	39,009
	Women	1,092	5,465	2,861	4,106	10,142	25,895	472	135,239
	Total Per mille	1,850 3.01	7,671 12.57	3,377 5.50	8,566 9.08	12,904 21.06	32,929 53.75	553 0.90	174,248 284.49

<sup>1</sup> Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō for 1926, pp. 184-185

figures indicate that stomach and intestinal affections were the commonest sicknesses (53.75 cases per 1,000 on the average), bronchitis and beri-beri coming next with 21.06 and 12.57 cases per 1,000 workers respectively.

Table LXVII which follows shows that of the total number of sickness cases, digestive and respiratory affections had the highest percentages, representing nearly 23 per cent. and 22 per cent. respectively of the total of morbidity cases. Actually, tuberculosis claimed the largest number of victims, and table LXVIII below shows that there were 88 deaths out of each 1,000 cases, while 211.8 workers per thousand were discharged before recovery or were still absent from work and under treatment at

TABLE LXVII. — PRINCIPAL DISEASES OF WORKERS IN FACTORIES EMPLOYING OVER 500 WORKERS, 1926<sup>1</sup>

Sickness	Numbers			Percentages		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average
Tuberculosis in general	885	1,377	2,262	2.27	1.02	1.30
Tuberculosis of the lungs	756	1,092	1,848	1.94	0.81	1.06
Affections of respiratory organs	7,733	31,791	39,524	19.82	23.51	22.11
Affections of digestive organs	8,938	30,911	39,849	22.91	22.86	22.87
Beri-beri	2,206	5,495	7,701	5.66	4.06	4.42
Trachoma	516	2,861	3,377	1.32	2.12	1.94

<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpo* for 1926, pp 179-180

TABLE LXVIII. — HISTORY OF TUBERCULOSIS CASES<sup>1</sup>

	Numbers			Percentages		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average
Recovered	505	753	1,258	57.06	54.68	55.61
Died	75	124	199	8.48	9.01	8.80
Discharged before recovery	130	349	479	14.69	25.34	21.18
Still unrecovered	175	151	326	19.77	10.97	14.41
Total	885	1,377	2,262	100.00	100.00	100.00

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p 180

the time of the enquiry. In 1926 the number of tuberculosis patients reported showed an increase of 380 over the previous year; of the 1926 total, 2,262, tuberculosis of the lungs accounted for 81 per cent.

*Sickness among mining workers*<sup>1</sup>. — Although the difference between the sickness and the accident rate is less marked in mines, where the risk of injury is greater, than in factories, the proportion of cases of sickness to cases of accident is nevertheless nearly three to one. Table LXIX shows that during 1927 there were 367,135 cases of sickness in mines, the percentage rate being 182.27 for women and 123.45 for men.

TABLE LXIX. — SICKNESS AND INJURIES OF MINING WORKERS, 1927<sup>1</sup>

	Numbers			Percentages		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average
Injured <sup>2</sup>	140,747	23,848	164,595	47.60	8.06	55.68
Sick <sup>2</sup>	269,456	97,679	367,135	123.45	182.27	143.69

<sup>1</sup> Only coal mines employing 500 or more miners and other mines or oil wells employing at least 300 mining workers are covered by the figures for sickness. On the other hand, the figures for accidents are taken from statistics covering all Japanese mines. Thus the statistics for the injured and the sick are not strictly comparable.

<sup>2</sup> *Honpō Kōgyō no Sūsei* for 1927, pp. 366, 401

The highest sickness rate in 1927 was found in coal mines. The percentages of men and women registered as having been sick and absent from work for at least three days were 144.88 and 191.87 respectively. Although comparative figures are not given in the following table, the official report states that the sickness figures rose suddenly in 1926 for all mines, owing to the influence of the Health Insurance Act, which came into force in that year; cases of sickness were more frequently reported than before, on account of the new facilities for treatment and compensation.

<sup>1</sup> Figures and other data in this section have been taken from *Honpō Kōgyō no Sūsei* for 1927, pp. 365-414.

TABLE LXX. — SICKNESS IN VARIOUS GROUPS OF MINES, 1927<sup>1</sup>

	Numbers			Percentages		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average
Metal mines	24,664	3,251	27,915	80.48	81.45	80.59
Coal mines	242,008	94,151	336,159	144.88	191.37	155.46
Oil wells	372	32	404	15.95	16.33	15.98
Non-metal mines	2,412	245	2,657	126.88	118.93	126.10
Total	269,456	97,679	367,135	133.45	182.27	143.69

<sup>1</sup> *Honpō Kōgyō no Sūsei* for 1927, p. 400.

Although the predominating diseases of miners differed from one mine to another, the average percentage figures for all mines show that 28 out of every 100 miners suffered from digestive troubles and had to stop work at least once in the year for this cause, while over 23 per cent. were absent for affections of the respiratory organs. Women were more affected by these sicknesses than men, the separate figures given in table LXXI showing percentages of 36.57 and 21.40, in the case of digestive disorders, and 31.47 and 21.07, in the case of respiratory troubles, for men and women respectively. The harmful effect of heavy mining labour on maternity may be imagined by the fact that 10,992 women out of 53,591 (or about 20 out of every 100 women workers) suffered from diseases of the urogenital organs, the majority being diseases of the womb. Skin diseases and nervous disorders also bulk largely in the sickness statistics, men suffering more than women from diseases of the nervous system. Details will be found in table LXXI.

*Occupational diseases and compensation.* — The preceding sections have dealt with sickness generally regardless of whether the sickness is specifically caused by the worker's occupation, i.e. whether it is an occupational disease. Japanese legislation, however, as other legislations, makes a distinction between ordinary sicknesses and occupational diseases from the point of view of the degree of protection afforded the worker.

TABLE LXXI. — INCIDENCE OF VARIOUS DISEASES IN MINES, 1927<sup>1</sup>

Sickness	Numbers			Percentages		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Average
Infectious diseases	593	196	789	0.29	0.36	0.30
Tuberculosis	618	310	928	0.30	0.57	0.36
Syphilis	2,229	467	2,696	1.10	0.87	1.05
Beri-beri	3,760	1,412	5,172	1.86	2.63	2.02
Anaemia	165	116	281	0.08	0.21	0.11
Parasites	1,178	800	1,978	0.58	1.49	0.77
Other infectious or constitutional diseases	10,520	4,017	14,537	5.21	7.49	5.68
Nervous diseases	16,206	5,559	21,765	8.02	1.03	8.51
Diseases of circulatory organs	2,052	808	2,860	1.01	1.50	1.11
Diseases of respiratory organs	43,559	16,868	60,427	21.07	31.47	23.64
Diseases of digestive organs	53,208	19,602	72,810	21.40	36.57	28.50
Diseases of urogenital organs	8,554	10,992	19,546	4.23	20.51	7.64
Rheumatism	3,062	1,233	4,295	1.02	2.30	1.68
Skin diseases	24,305	7,011	31,316	13.01	13.08	13.42
Poisoning	408	162	570	0.20	0.30	0.22
Others	99,039	28,126	127,165	49.04	52.27	49.76
Total number of sick cases	269,456	97,679	367,135	133.44	182.26	143.68
Total number of miners covered	201,916	53,591	255,507	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> *Honpō Kōgyō no Sūsei* for 1927, pp. 409-411.

Under the factory and mining laws<sup>1</sup> of Japan the employer is compelled to compensate the worker for either sickness or injury arising out of the performance of his work, sickness and injury being put on exactly the same footing in this respect. The principle of compensation for occupational diseases was first established in the Mining Act of 1905 (section 80) and subsequent legislation has applied the same principle. In practice difficulties arise in determining what diseases are "occupational diseases". With a view to meeting these difficulties, the Government issued

<sup>1</sup> Ordinance for the administration of the Factory Act, 1916 (amended 1923), section 4; Regulations for the employment and relief of miners, 1916 (amended 1926), section 17.

in 1916 an instruction<sup>1</sup> attaching a list of the diseases regarded officially as occupational. The list contains the following :

1. Poisoning in trades which involve the handling of arsenic, mercury, lead or their compounds, phosphorus or substances containing phosphorus, hydrocyanic acid, cyanic compounds or other poisonous or dangerously strong substances.
2. Corrosion or ulceration occasioned by the handling, in connection with the work, of mineral acid, caustic soda, chrome, fluorine or their compounds, tar or other corrosive or irritative substances.
3. Phlegmon in the hand or fingers of operatives handling raw silk, palmar psoriasis of workers grinding or polishing metal or stone, eczema caused by tar, cement, cyanic compounds and the like.
4. Cramp, convulsion, laceration, inflammation of the tendon sheaths, arthritis, or hernia occasioned by work.
5. Conjunctivitis or any other eye disease occasioned either by handling highly heated objects or by irritative gases or substances.
6. Erysipelas, anthrax, pest, or smallpox contracted in handling rags, hides or hair of animals, or other old things.
7. Any other diseases than those enumerated above which can be regarded as occupational diseases.

Since no other list of occupational diseases has been issued by the Government, it may be inferred that the list applies alike to the cases of diseases of factory workers and of miners in determining the responsibility of the employer for compensation. The absence of a special list of the occupational diseases to which miners are particularly liable has, however, given rise to difficulties in practice, and it is significant that no statistics of compensation for the occupational diseases of miners are available.

As regards workers in private factories the statistical enquiry into sickness among factory workers in 1926, which furnished the information given in the first part of this chapter, showed that 17,236 men and women workers received compensation for diseases arising out of the performance of work, the total amount of compensation paid being 71,349 yen. These figures are low when compared with the 227,660 cases of injury for which compensation amounting to 2,733,975 yen was paid. It will be noted that by far the largest number of the sickness cases giving rise to compensation occurred in textile mills, and that in the great majority of these cases women were affected. The following table gives the figures for the main industrial groups :

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<sup>1</sup> Instruction No. 5887 of the former Department of Agriculture and Commerce, dated 9 Aug. 1916.



TABLE LXXII. — OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES IN FACTORIES  
EMPLOYING MORE THAN 500 WORKERS AND AMOUNTS  
OF COMPENSATION PAID, 1926<sup>1</sup>

Factories	Number of cases			Money paid in compensation
	Men	Women	Total	
Textile	1,312	14,315	15,627	Yen 39,212
Machine and tools	534	17	551	11,885
Chemical	510	351	861	15,806
Food and drink	116		121	2,846
Gas, electricity and smelting	43	2	45	945
Miscellaneous	27	4	31	655
Total	2,542	14,694	17,236	71,349

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1926, pp 190-192.

More than half the amount of money paid out in compensation was to cover the cost of treatment, and the next largest item was payment during the absence from work caused by the sickness. The next most considerable item consisted of payments to the families of workers who died from occupational diseases. The detailed items of the payments were as follows :

	Yen
Cost of treatment : . . . . .	38,246
Absence allowances : . . . . .	25,299
Permanently incapacitated . . . . .	752
Incapacited from resuming former work or women wounded on face	1,353
Permanently injured but able to resume former work . . . . .	67
Survivors' allowances . . . . .	4,210
Funeral allowances . . . . .	560
Final (aid-terminating) allowances . . . . .	862
Total . . . . .	71,349

The occupational disease which accounts for the largest number of cases is psoriasis of the hand or finger, a disease which mainly affects women workers in silk filatures. In the prefecture of Nagano, which is the centre of the silk industry, 1,363 factory girls were reported during 1926 as having been absent from work on account of this disease. The aggregate number of days lost for treatment was 8,733, an average of 6.4 days per worker. The maximum number of days lost by a worker was 129 days, and

one mill reported as many as 85 cases of the disease during the year. The factory inspection authorities estimated<sup>1</sup>, on the basis of the report of the prefecture of Nagano, that the total number of factory workers suffering from this disease was 4,377, involving an aggregate loss of 28,045 working days. Translated into terms of production, this would mean a loss of 2,804,500 *kan*<sup>2</sup> or 312 bales of silk.

Another skin disease which is regarded as an occupational disease is the eczema affecting the fingers of workers in artificial silk manufactories. A factory in the prefecture of Hiroshima reported during March-December 1926 the cases of 6 men and 9 women workers who were absent from work for 23 and 56 days respectively on account of this disease.

Conjunctivitis and keratitis of the eye are also common in artificial silk manufactories. A factory in Hiroshima reported as many as 210 cases of workers in 1926 who were absent from work for three days or more, losing 2,747 days in the aggregate, and requiring 3,013 days of treatment. The same factory reported 137 cases in the following year, 1927, with 1,429 days of absence and 2,209 days of treatment. Another artificial silk factory in the prefecture of Miye reported that in 1927 more than 10 per cent. of the workers were suffering from conjunctivitis every day in the year; most of these cases were slight, requiring only a few days of treatment, but some lasted weeks or months. The disease is stated to be caused by the gas emitted by the viscose as it forms the artificial silk thread running through a fluid containing 10 per cent. sulphuric acid and chlorine compounds. Mechanical devices for ventilation and removal of the noxious gas exist, but whenever they fail to function properly scores of workers' eyes are affected.

A few cases of phosphorus poisoning are reported occasionally from phosphorus refineries. The use of the mask is strictly enforced and any case of dental trouble is stated to be carefully dealt with so as to reduce the risk of phosphorus poisoning to an absolute minimum. Poisoning from yellow phosphorus in match factories is no longer reported since the prohibition of the use of this poisonous material has been legally enforced. A few cases of anthrax are reported occasionally in the trades involving

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1926, pp. 75 and 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Kan* = 8.28 lbs.

the handling of the hides and bones of animals. The cases occur mostly in tanneries and the manufactories of writing brushes (*fudé*)<sup>1</sup>.

*Health legislation.* — Inability to afford the loss of wages involved by sick leave and the fear of losing his employment if his absence from work is prolonged often induce the sick worker to continue to work, thereby endangering not only his own health but sometimes also that of his fellow-workers. It also happens that employers, more particularly if there are urgent orders to be executed, bring pressure to bear on sick workers to remain at work. Obviously, so long as these conditions persist, the reduction of the sickness rate is rendered more difficult to achieve. Japanese legislation has, therefore, begun to make absence from work compulsory in certain cases of sickness.

The Factory Act authorises the Minister of the Interior to restrict or prohibit the employment of sick persons both for the purpose of protecting the sick worker himself and of safeguarding the health of his fellow-workers. The Minister of Commerce and Industry and, under him, the Chiefs of Mining Inspection Bureaux have similar powers in the case of mines<sup>2</sup>. The Health Insurance Act has reinforced the earlier legislation by providing by statute means for facilitating the treatment and recovery of sick workers.

Any person suffering from an infectious disease is of course debarred from employment in a factory or mine<sup>3</sup>. In Japanese

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō*, 1927, pp. 196-200.

<sup>2</sup> The provisions in question are as follows :

*Factory Act of 1923*, section 12 : " The competent Minister may issue regulations restricting or prohibiting the employment of sick persons, or of women before and after childbirth or while they are nursing their children. "

*Mining Act of 1905*, section 71 : " Any police matter, as set out below, relating to mining is administered by the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the chiefs of Mining Inspection Bureaux in accordance with Ordinances :

- (a) .....
- (b) Protection of life and hygiene.
- (c) Prevention of accidents and safeguarding of public welfare.

<sup>3</sup> Certain infectious diseases are governed by the general Act for the prevention of infectious diseases under which any person suffering from cholera, dysentery, typhus, paratyphus, erupting typhus, smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, cerebro-spinal meningitis or pest is disallowed from engaging in work which is liable to spread the disease among others. If deemed necessary by the authorities, the patient may be detained in an isolation hospital.

law a sick person is not only anyone who actually has the symptoms of any given disease, but also anyone who has not recovered health even after the symptoms have disappeared, and, according to the present factory<sup>1</sup> and mining laws<sup>2</sup>, no employer may engage for work a worker suffering from any of the following diseases :

Insanity;  
 Leprosy, tuberculosis, laryngeal tuberculosis;  
 Erysipelas, recurrent fever, measles, epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis and other similar acute fevers;  
 Syphilis, itch and other infectious skin diseases;  
 Conjunctivitis, blennorrhoea, trachoma (of the very infectious type) and other similar infectious eye diseases;  
 Pleurisy, heart disease, beri-beri, arthritis, inflammation of the tendon sheaths, acute diseases of the urogenital organs or any other illness likely to be aggravated by work.

In order to ensure that sick people shall be eliminated from the workplaces, the Factory Act has authorised the inspectors of factories to "inspect a factory or its annexes, or medically examine any worker or apprentice suspected of a disease which entails prohibition of employment or is infectious". Under the Mining Act<sup>3</sup> the mining authorities have similar powers. The regulations of a number of prefectures require that workers should be medically examined either periodically or at the time of engagement, but this has not yet been introduced into national legislation.

Moreover, both the factory and mining laws require that the employer should call in a doctor to make a diagnosis or *post-mortem* examination without delay whenever any worker is injured, taken ill or dies when at work, either in a workshop or in any building attached thereto<sup>4</sup>. Strict observance of this requirement is ensured by further legal provisions obliging the employer to make a report to the prefectural governor of any cases of death, and of acute poisoning, asphyxia or injury of workers requiring at least three days of medical treatment or of absence from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 1 (C): Regulations for the Administration of the Factory Act, section 8; also *Legislative Series*, 1926, Jap. 2: Regulations for the employment and relief of miners, section 14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1923, Jap. 1; Amended Factory Act, 1923, section 14.

<sup>3</sup> Section 71 of the Mining Act of 1905, amended 1924.

<sup>4</sup> Section 14 of the Detailed Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act. Sections 30 and 34 of the Regulations for the employment and relief of miners.

work for recovery. Failure to cause the illness of a sick worker to be diagnosed or an injured, poisoned or asphyxiated worker to be medically examined, and negligence in the matter of *post-mortem* examination or of making a report to the authorities, are punishable with fines. In respect of factories where at least fifty operatives are normally employed, there is an additional obligation imposed: the employer must make a monthly report on the sickness, injury and death of workers, on the form<sup>1</sup> provided for the purpose. In mines, the requirement is still more stringent than in factories. Monthly reports on the sickness, injury and death of miners must be made to the mining authorities from all mines irrespective of the number of miners engaged in the mine.

*Dormitory regulations.* — Apart from and in addition to the provisions of the factory and mining laws for the prevention of sickness, it was necessary in Japan to deal with the dangers arising from the special method of housing large numbers of workers in dormitories. The importance of the problem will be obvious when it is realised that approximately 15,000 factories have dormitory sheds attached to them, and that 634,000 workers live in these dormitories. The following is a summary of the health provisions contained in the Regulations for dormitories attached to factories which were issued in 1927<sup>2</sup>:

The occupants of dormitories must be examined medically at least twice a year and health records must be preserved during a period of three years.

The minimum size of rooms is legally fixed. Bedrooms, dining rooms, sick rooms and other rooms used for living purposes must not be less than 6  $\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height. All bedrooms must have ceilings and the windows must either be of glass and covered with curtains or must be provided with *shōji* (sliding paper screen) and outer shutters. Bedrooms must have floor space conforming to law<sup>3</sup>. No sleeping room may have more than sixteen occupants. The names of the occupants must be posted at the entrance to their bedrooms.

When the occupants of a dormitory belong to separate shifts with different sleeping hours, each shift must have its own bedrooms. Shift and non-shift workers must not be put together.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Detailed Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act, sections 24-25; Regulations for the employment and relief of miners, sections 34, 37bis, 38; Mining Police Regulations, sections 73, 74, 79.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 30 May 1927, p. 367; also *Legislative Series*, 1927, Jap. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The minimum floor space required is approximately 6 × 4.5 ft. (0.75 *tsubo*. *Tsubo* = 3.95 sq. yards).

The factory owner must supply a set of quilts and sheets sufficient for the sole use of each worker. Bedding must not be used by another worker until it has first been washed, and it must be kept clean and exposed to the sun from time to time.

Earth floors are not allowed in dining rooms and kitchens. Dining rooms must be provided with stools or chairs unless mats are used.

All bowls, dishes, chopsticks, etc., must be kept clean and disinfected occasionally.

Persons of unsound mind must not be employed in dormitories.

All dormitories must be provided with an adequate number of spittoons containing liquid and the contents of these must not be thrown away until they have first been disinfected. Towels for common use are not allowed. Wash basins used by operatives suffering from trachoma must not be used by other operatives and each wash basin must be connected with the drainage system. Bedding and other materials used by patients suffering from the contagious or infectious diseases listed in the Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act must not be used by other persons unless disinfected. The same rule applies to bedrooms occupied by tuberculous patients.

Dormitories must be provided with an adequate number of closets and washing basins.

If in the opinion of the prefectural governor the sleeping rooms of a dormitory are a menace to the health or safety of the occupants, the factory owner may be required to remedy the deficiency, or may be ordered to close the whole or part of the dormitory.

*Special protection of young workers.* — Provisions in the factory and mining laws prohibit the employment of workers under sixteen years of age in processes considered particularly injurious to health, such as the handling of deleterious or poisonous substances and work in places where the air is heavily charged with dust<sup>1</sup>.

### *Safety Legislation*

*Development of safety regulations.*— Rules for the prevention of accidents in mines are first found, in a very elementary form, in the Japan Mines Act of 1873. It was not, however, until 1890, when the mining police service was established, that provision was made for detailed health and safety regulations. These provisions, contained in the Mining Police Regulations of 1892, were the basis of the existing regulations, having been elaborated and improved by amendments in 1905, 1916 and 1929.

The first factory regulations containing safety clauses were issued in Osaka, one of the first important centres to be indus-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Detailed Regulations for the administration of the Factory Act, section 6; Regulations for the employment and relief of miners, section 13.

trialised in Japan, as early as 1887, and were followed by similar regulations in Tokyo in 1891. Other regulations to ensure safety and hygiene in works using steam boilers, manufactories of fire-works or matches and the like, were issued from time to time during the following years in various prefectures. It was not, however, until 1911 that national regulations were provided for, and in the absence of standard national legislation the small factories, which were spreading by hundreds and thousands, depended on the discretion of local authorities or the initiative and goodwill of enlightened employers for such safety and health regulations as they had.

The Factory Act of 1911 did not, however, contain detailed regulations, but laid down in section 13 that if the administrative authorities consider "that a factory, or the premises or equipment thereof, is likely to prove dangerous or detrimental to health, morality or other public interests, they may instruct the occupier of such factory, in accordance with regulations to be issued by order, to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent or reduce the dangers in question. . . ." The regulations provided for in this section were not, in fact, issued by Ordinance until 1929<sup>1</sup>.

*Safety regulations for factories.* — Issued in June 1929, these Regulations were applied in September of the same year, with delayed application for periods of one or two years in the case of some requirements which involve either the rebuilding of parts of factories or considerable change of their equipment. An analysis of the Regulations is given below<sup>2</sup> :

*Safety measures.* — Dangerous parts of a motor or power transmission apparatus must be fenced or covered. Power transmission belts must be moved from fixed pulleys to loose pulleys or *vice versa* by means of a belt-shifting device with an automatic stopper. If there is danger in oiling the power transmission apparatus used, a safe oiling arrangement must be substituted. When several machines are driven by the same motor, each machine must be equipped with a device whereby its individual motion can be stopped immediately in case of danger. A proper signal must be given to all persons concerned when a motor or power transmission apparatus is set in motion. Persons who are in danger of having their hair or clothing caught by machinery

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<sup>1</sup> *Kōjō-Kigai Yobō oyobi Eisei Kisoku* (Regulations concerning Hygiene and Accident Prevention in Factories). No. 24 of the Ordinances of the Department of the Interior, promulgated 20 June 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Some health measures are mentioned here because they are combined with important provisions for accident prevention.

in motion must wear appropriate caps or working clothes. All dangerous places, such as entrances to lifts, elevated runways, etc., must be guarded with a fence, railing or cover. Signs must be placed in all dangerous places. Ladders must have safety rungs.

*Prevention of and escape from fire.* — Prefectural Governors may regulate the places where explosives, inflammable or combustible substances are manufactured, handled or stored, or where gas, power or dust of explosive nature is generated. In such places, signs must be provided prohibiting smoking or the unnecessary use of fire. In factories where ten or more persons are regularly employed on the second floor or floors higher than the second (counting the ground floor as the first), at least three stairways properly arranged and giving access to a place of safety must be provided on each floor. If the number of persons exceeds fifty, these stairways must be built in accordance with legal requirements.

*Preventive measures and safeguards.* — In places where gas, power or dust is generated and there is danger of explosion or injury to health, some arrangement such as exhaustion or confinement must be made. Signs must be placed prohibiting the entrance of unauthorised persons into places where substances dangerous or injurious to health are manufactured, stored or handled. Suitable protective equipment must be worn by persons in danger of being hit by flying objects, persons engaged in the manufacture or handling of substances at high temperatures, poisons or powerful drugs, persons exposed to injurious rays and persons who work in places where injurious substances are produced. In workplaces where injurious or dangerous substances are produced or manufactured, a dining room, a dressing room, wash basins, bathrooms and gargling accommodation must be provided. Each factory must keep a supply of first-aid equipment. Separate dressing-rooms and bathrooms must be provided for the exclusive use of men and women respectively. If in the opinion of a prefectural governor a factory or its equipment is dangerous or detrimental to health, morality or other public interests, he may order the occupier of the factory to take such measures as may be necessary to remove the dangers. Persons who remove or make ineffective any accident prevention apparatus, or who smoke or employ fire unnecessarily in dangerous places, are liable to a fine.

*Penalties.* — The violation of these regulations is punishable with the same penalty as cases of contravention of the Factory Act itself. The maximum penalty, as laid down in the Factory Act, is a fine of 1,000 yen (section 20).

*Safety regulations for mines.* — The Mining Police Regulations deal with accident prevention in mines in great detail, and consist of 83 sections with additional provisions and supplementary appendices added by a series of amendments since the Regulations were first issued nearly forty years ago. The following is a summary of these Regulations :

*Safety inspection.* — Mine owners (holders of mining rights) must appoint safety and health inspectors (deputies) who should



inspect the pit several times every day. These inspectors must visit all passages, workplaces, workers' houses and dangerous places. Mines containing gas must be visited before the miners enter them. If danger is found to exist the work must be stopped, the passage blocked, or other suitable measures taken. Work can be resumed only after the inspecting engineer has inspected and verified the removal of the danger. Mine owners must also appoint machine inspectors to inspect machines at least once a day and to see to the proper functioning of the machinery. The inspectors must keep daily records of safety, health or machinery inspections.

*Emergency exits.* — Where fifty or more miners are engaged in underground work, two or more easily accessible entrances at a proper distance from each other and connected below must be provided. The same requirement of escapes may be imposed upon mines with less than fifty miners when deemed necessary by the authorities.

*Props and fences.* — Suitable props must be placed where there is danger of falls of gallery roofs. Fences, barriers, etc., must be put up at the entrance to shafts, wells and adits of 40 degrees or more. In digging mines suitable measures must be taken to prevent the falling in of stones, sand, etc. Disused shafts and adits of more than 40 degrees declivity must be filled in or barred with strong fences. Motors, power transmission apparatus and part or the whole of dangerous machines must be properly fenced.

*Ventilation<sup>1</sup>, air pressure and temperature.* — The amount of air necessary for health and for the prevention of dangers must be pumped into the pit. When the presence of gas is discovered in a mine, it must be reported at once to the Mining Bureau. A steam gauge and thermometer must be placed at the pithead and inspected daily in mines employing fifty or more miners. The ventilation plan (airways, etc.) must be shown on the general plan of the mine. The safety inspector must verify the safety of ventilation and steam pressure, using air-gauges, safety lamps or other necessary apparatus. Hydraulic gauges must be used in mines using fans for ventilation and the safety inspector must record his observations every day.

*Ladder and winding apparatus.* — Ladders used for passage in shafts or in wells should be placed at less than 80 degrees. At each 30 feet at least a landing place should be provided. The upper end of the ladder must project at least 2 feet above the landing place. When a winch is installed in a shaft for the miners' use a ladder should also be placed unless another entrance is provided which is easily accessible at any time. (In such a case the ladder should be separated from the winding rope with planks or other proper arrangement.) The winding apparatus should be provided with a brake as well as an indicator of the depth and so equipped as to prevent accidents. The winding rope and the winding machine should be so constructed as to bear a weight ten times heavier than the maximum load to be lifted

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<sup>1</sup> Ventilation in Japanese mines depends in most cases on the natural ventilation produced by the air conditions as they exist in the shafts and adits. In order to supplement the deficiencies of the natural ventilation large fans are fixed at the mouth of the ventilating shaft. There is always a man in charge to regulate the air conditions in mines.

by the machine. Spliced ropes must not be used on a winding machine. There are detailed requirements regarding signals in shafts.

*Dangers of gas; use of explosives.* — In mines where danger of gas exists no light except electric or safety lamps may be used and smoking is strictly prohibited except in smoking cabins specially provided for the purpose. Smoking or carrying unprotected lights, matches, etc.,<sup>1</sup> within 5 *ken*<sup>2</sup> of oil deposits or the pit-head of a petroleum well is prohibited. There are detailed rules as to the use of safety lamps and the handling of explosives of all kinds.

*Preventive measures and safeguards.* — Provision for the prevention of injury or poisoning must be made where sulphuric, nitric or hydrochloric acid, or caustic potash or soda or any other strong or poisonous substances are handled in large quantities. In processes of ore-dressing, calcination (kiln) or tempering causing much dust, the rules regarding ventilation and cleanliness of the workplace must be strictly observed. Mine owners must have the necessary provision for first-aid in case of sickness or injury.

*Penalties.* — The penalty for the violation of the regulations used to be light, being a fine of only 100 yen at most. This has been rectified by the amended regulations of 1929, so that at present those who contravene the regulations or resist the action taken by the authorities in accordance with the regulations are liable to imprisonment of three months or less in addition to a fine not exceeding 100 yen.

*Special safety regulations for coal mines.* — Apart from the Mining Police Regulations, there is another Ordinance: Regulations for the Control of Explosions in Coal Mines<sup>3</sup>. These Regulations were first promulgated in 1915 but were amended in 1929 at the same time as the Police Regulations; they came into force in January 1930. The following is a summary of these Regulations:

The amount of air pumped into the mine is calculated at the mouth of the airway on the basis of the largest number of miners entering during the day. The amount must be at least 100 cubic *shaku* per worker per minute. The speed of the ventilation must not exceed 1,500 *shaku* per minute. Only in shafts and special airways the speed may be increased up to 2,000 *shaku* per minute. In pits having 2 per cent. or more of gas, the work must be stopped. With 3 per cent. or more of gas, passage must be prohibited. The examination for the

<sup>1</sup> In the main shafts or adits of mines, electric lights are used, and in branch galleries either carbide lamps or Wolf's safety lamps. In coal mines, there is of late an increasing use of Edison's head light in order to minimise dangers, since defective illumination is a factor affecting the accident rate. The more effective lighting also improves efficiency.

<sup>2</sup> *Ken* = 6 *shaku* = 6 × .994 ft.

<sup>3</sup> *Sekitankō Bakuhatsu Torishimari Kisoku* (Regulations for the Control of Explosions in Coal Mines). No. 25 of the Ordinances of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce 1915, revised on 16 Dec. 1929 by Ordinance No. 22 of the Department of Commerce and Industry.

presence of gas must be done by the safety inspector (fireman) within three hours at least before the men enter. There are other detailed rules, especially in regard to the use of dynamite and of safety lamps, smoking, etc. A safety inspector may not be responsible for more than seventy miners <sup>1</sup>. The Regulations require also the formation of groups for emergency aid. Apart from fines violation of the Regulations may be punished by imprisonment of three months.

*Safety regulations for dormitories.* — An amendment concerned with fire escapes was made in 1929 to the Regulations for dormitories attached to factories, first issued in 1927. Owing to the frequent occurrence of fires, earthquake and other disasters in Japan the enforcement of the safety rules in the dormitory sheds is particularly important. The main points of the safety Regulations are as follows :

The dormitory must be placed at a safe distance from the factory or adequate precautions taken against risk to life or health of the workers if any dangerous or unhealthy process is carried on in the factory. The processes considered as dangerous or unhealthy are indicated in the Regulations.

When the dormitory buildings are not fire-proof no rooms above the third floor (counting the ground floor as the first) may be used as sleeping quarters. All doors leading from the building must be arranged so as to open outwards, or so that they may be drawn sideways. Easy outlets for escape must be provided. In factories where more than fifteen workers regularly reside on the floors higher than the second (counting the ground floor as the first), at least three stairways which are suitably arranged and easily lead to a safe place must be provided on each floor. If the number of occupants exceeds fifty, the stairways must be constructed in accordance with legal requirements <sup>2</sup>.

*Special protection of women and young persons.* — The occupier of a factory must not allow persons under sixteen years of age, or women, to clean, oil, examine, or repair the dangerous parts of any machinery or transmission apparatus in motion, or to put on or take off the driving belts or ropes of any machinery or transmission apparatus in motion or to perform any dangerous work <sup>3</sup>. In addition, it is prohibited in mines to employ women

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<sup>1</sup> In exceptional cases the number may be increased to 100.

<sup>2</sup> Each step must be more than 7 inches wide, more than 7 inches high and more than 3 feet 5 inches in inside length. Stairways must be placed at an angle of less than 40 degrees from the floor. If a stairway exceeds 12 feet in height a landing must be provided for every 12 feet. Circular stairways must be avoided. Railings more than 2 feet 7 inches high must be provided along the sides of the stairways. There must be no obstacle within 5 feet 8 inches above each step.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Factory Act of 1923, section 9.

or young persons in the processes mentioned in the Miners' Regulations<sup>1</sup>. These processes include work such as stoking a boiler or opening or shutting the feed water valve or the stop-valve, handling an electric generator or rheostat, switching high tension lines, handling a winch, coupling or uncoupling trucks in motion, the excavation of minerals or shovelling of rock, placing or firing shots, feeding furnaces with ore, fuel, etc. In addition the handling of volatile oil, carbon bisulphide and other similar explosive or inflammable substances is forbidden to young miners under sixteen years of age.

### *Popular Safety Movements*

These movements are of recent origin in Japan<sup>2</sup>. The first national "Safety First" campaign was launched in 1916 by Mr. Kakichi Uchida, who brought back the idea from the United States. The Safety First Association (*Anzen Dai-ichi Kyokai*) was founded in 1917<sup>3</sup>. The Association did not confine its activities to industry but was interested in the prevention of fire, in increasing safety in traffic and so on. The Association popularised the slogan "Safety First", and carried out propaganda in all parts of the country; it also co-operated with the Department of Education in organising a Safety Exhibition in June 1919 in Tokyo, and later a "Safety week" for Tokyo and its vicinity, which was a new experience in Japan. Public interest was aroused by the work of the Association, and a large number of ephemeral safety societies were formed; safety days and safety weeks also became the fashion. The movement was, however, not placed on a sound footing until the formation of the semi-official Industrial Welfare Association (*Sangyo Fukuri Kyokai*)<sup>4</sup>.

This Association was set up by the Bureau of Social Affairs in 1925 as a central body to co-ordinate the many local societies founded by employers with the object of furthering the prevention

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Regulations for the employment and relief of miners, section 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS: *Wagakuni ni okeru Sangyō Saigai Yobō no Gaikyō* (General situation of industrial accident prevention in Japan), pp. 17-67; *Nihon ni okeru Saigai Bōshi Undō oyobi Kōgyō Eisei* (Movement for accident prevention and industrial health in Japan), pp. 1-162.

<sup>3</sup> With Mr. Kakichi Uchida, formerly Vice-Minister of Communications and Delegate of the Japanese Government at the International Labour Conference, Genoa, 1920, as President.

<sup>4</sup> There were "Fire Prevention Volunteers", "Fire Prevention Tea Parties" and the like.

of industrial accidents, improvement of industrial hygiene, etc. With but few exceptions these local societies had been founded by factory inspectors and were managed by them in their private capacity; the establishment of the Industrial Welfare Association was due to the Chief Factory Inspector<sup>1</sup> and other leading members of the inspectorate.

The factory owners' and mine owners' societies welcomed the establishment of the Association. At first it was financed wholly by contributions of the affiliated bodies, but the State Treasury subsidised it from 1927 onwards<sup>2</sup>. The Association has a monthly publication, *Industrial Welfare*, and innumerable pamphlets and leaflets dealing with industrial health and safety from various angles are sold at cost price or distributed free. Illustrations of safety apparatus and devices have been found to be of great value to factory owners and managers. Prize posters are a special feature of the Association's work; every month considerable sums of money are offered as prizes for posters judged to be the most striking and effective in calling the attention of workers to the dangers of accident or of injury to health arising out of employment. The prizes have stirred the interest of the workers themselves, who compete with posters of their own design. The activities of this Association comprise conferences, wireless lectures, exhibits, films and lantern slides, lecture courses, and prizes offered for short stories or dramas bearing on safety or hygiene, as well as to inventors of effective safety devices or to those who have prevented the occurrence of accidents by courageous acts.

The Association has also stimulated the organisation of "Safety weeks" and "Safety days". These are organised much on the same lines as in other countries, but their frequency and the keenness of the people about them may perhaps be regarded as more or less peculiar to Japan. They are organised for a definite period, which may be a day, three days, a week or ten days; they may be limited to only one factory or mine, or they cover all the factories in a prefecture. Encouraged by the success of a "Safety week" in 1927 which covered half of Japan including the cities of Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, the three most indus-

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<sup>1</sup> Then Mr. Shunzo Yoshisaka, now Japanese Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

<sup>2</sup> The Government attaches considerable importance to this national effort for safety; the Minister of the Interior is its Honorary President.

trialised urban prefectures, and twenty-one other local prefectures and the island of Hokkaido, the scale has been enlarged so as finally to cover the whole country<sup>1</sup>. "Safety weeks" organised in July 1928 and in October 1929 covered both Korea and Formosa, the Navy Department assisting the work by conducting intensive safety campaigns in the factories and mines in the colonial areas. The most recent "Safety week" was held in July 1931, and covered the whole of Japan proper.

Most of the safety weeks are launched by factory owners' associations, factory sections or police divisions of local prefectures, etc. Very careful preparation by experts precedes these events; the officers in charge are previously given detailed instructions, and some practical training or drill is provided in many cases. Conferences are arranged in the most important industrial centres, films and coloured posters are shown, men or vehicles carrying signs parade through the streets, plays are staged, wireless and other modern inventions are extensively used to stir popular interest. Safety badges or ribbons are worn by all the operatives. Most of these things are in no way peculiar to Japan, but among a number of arrangements made for the workers may be found things which are interesting examples of racial customs. In the mining districts of Kyushu<sup>2</sup>, on the "Safety days" organised in 1928, chrysanthemums were arranged at the entrance of every shaft or adit. Flowers, and more especially the chrysanthemum, the national flower of Japan<sup>3</sup>, have a peculiar charm for the Japanese people, "producing the psychological effect of calmness of spirit and clearness of brain".

Still another practice which will have but few parallels in the West is the setting up for the duration of the "Safety days" of a miniature shrine of the "mountain god" at the entrance of the mine, with offerings and with a little lamp before it. The mining workers make their devotional gesture before beginning their work, and are given a talisman to protect their lives. They purify themselves by sprinkling a handful of salt over their bodies and eat some of the rice, sea-weed or other things offered to the god. The true value of these rites can be understood only by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. KITAOKA : "Anzen Shūkan ni tsuite" (On Safety Weeks) in *Sangyō Fukuri*, Nov. 1929, pp. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> Kyushu is the large island in the south where the coal mining industry is most developed.

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Mining Inspection Bureau of Fukuoka, in *Sangyō Fukuri* (Industrial Welfare) June 1928, pp. 52-60.

those who appreciate the profound effect of age-long traditions which are still powerful among these ancient races. The official report states that "the safety movement has been found to be most effective when based on the faith of the people".

In addition to the means taken to arouse the workers' attention to dangers, the safety days or weeks are a time of actual inspection of machines and tools, boilers and engines, working clothes, signal installation, lighting, ventilation, alleys and passages, stairways and doors, dormitories, housing, kitchens, fire-places, baths, lavatories, and all other equipment related either to safety or to health; the injurious effects of lack of sleep, excessive drinking, etc., may be pointed out to the workers.

By way of illustration figures reported by the prefectures of Tokyo and Hyogo in respect of sickness or injuries sustained by workers in the weeks before, during and after the safety week in October 1927 are given :

TABLE LXXIII. — REDUCTION OF INJURIES IN TOKYO PREFECTURE<sup>1</sup>

(" Safety week " — Seven days from 2 to 8 October 1927)

Sex	Injuries	Number injured during preceding week	Number injured during safety week	Number injured during following week
Men	Killed	1	1	1
"	Obliged to be absent by injury	210	134	187
"	Able to continue work in spite of injury	661	441	390
Women	Killed	—	—	—
"	Obliged to be absent by injury	21	18	10
"	Able to continue work in spite of injury	86	59	82
Total number of workers investigated :		Preceding week	Safety week	Following week
Men		84,342	83,812	84,432
Women		39,446	39,591	39,345
Number of factories investigated		—	—	5,888

<sup>1</sup> BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS. *Wagakuni ni okeru Sangyō Saigai Yobo no Gaikyo*, p. 41.

TABLE LXXIV. — REDUCTION OF SICKNESS AND INJURIES  
IN HYOGO PREFECTURE <sup>1</sup>

(“Safety week” — Seven days from 2 to 8 October 1927)

Sex	Injuries	Number injured during preceding week	Number injured during safety week	Number injured during following week
Men	Sick and absent	956	837	804
„	Obliged to be absent by injury	127	115	80
„	Able to continue work in spite of injury	324	197	383
Women	Sick and absent	1,237	1,034	1,127
„	Obliged to be absent by injury	23	10	11
„	Able to continue work in spite of injury	52	29	38
Total number of workers investigated :				
Men . . . . .			94,278	
Women . . . . .			53,139	
Number of factories investigated : . . . .			1,900	

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43 Hyogo is the prefecture in which the city of Kobe is located, hence very important industrially.

As sickness does not declare itself at once when provoked by a process or exposure to unhealthy conditions, the effect of safety days or weeks on sickness cannot be accurately estimated. But, in addition to the figures reported by the Hyogo Prefecture above, there are other reports from various prefectures <sup>1</sup> which confirm the view that certain sickness may be effectively prevented and the number of sickness cases may be appreciably reduced by efforts which follow on such a campaign as a safety week. The reduction of injuries reported after the safety week

<sup>1</sup> The prefectures of Miyagi, Wakayama, Okayama, Gifu, etc. reported after the safety week in October 1927 on the results, and the reports indicated that there was a reduction of at least 15 per cent. in sickness on the average in respect of 227,858 workers investigated.



throughout the country in July 1928 was not so striking on this occasion. Statistics of deaths, "serious injuries" requiring two weeks or more of treatment, "slight injuries" requiring between three days and two weeks of treatment, and "very slight injuries" which either required less than three days of treatment and absence from work of less than three days or no absence at all, were collected in respect of 3,128 factories employing at least 50 workers. There were in all 1,000,045 workers (419,164 men and 580,881 women) engaged in these factories and the results reported were as follows :

TABLE LXXV. — REDUCTION OF INJURIES THROUGHOUT JAPAN<sup>1</sup>

(*"Safety week"* — Six days from 2 to 7 July 1928)

Sex		Deaths	Serious injuries	Slight injuries	Very slight injuries	Totals
<i>Week before</i>		6	171	640	908	1,725
	Men	3	148	524	708	1,383
	Women	3	23	116	200	342
<i>During the week</i>		3	165	530	635	1,333
	Men	3	154	441	474	1,072
	Women	—	11	89	161	261
<i>Week after</i>		—	141	684	894	1,719
	Men	—	117	564	682	1,363
	Women	—	24	120	212	356

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sangyo Fukuri*, Sept. 1929, p. 16.

Safety weeks are usually followed by the appointment of a "safety deputy"<sup>1</sup> or "safety committees", or both, to supervise safety in the factory concerned<sup>2</sup>. The safety deputy may be a trained engineer or a worker with some technical training; the safety committees are usually composed of technical staff and workers. According to the following table some 422 safety committees were set up between 1911 and 1928 :

<sup>1</sup> *Anzen Kakari* in Japanese, meaning a man in charge of safety.

<sup>2</sup> The Miners Regulations require the appointment of safety inspectors in mines.

TABLE LXXVI. — SAFETY COMMITTEES IN JAPAN <sup>1</sup>

Date of founding	Mines	Factories	Date of founding	Mines	Factories
1911	—	1	1922	1	5
1913	—	1	1923	3	6
1916	—	1	1924	2	36
1917	—	2	1925	2	18
1918	1	—	1926	7	45
1919	—	1	1927	19	252
1920	2	1	1928	2	6
1921	—	7		(till February)	

<sup>1</sup> Cf BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS. *Anzen Iinkai oyobi Shūkan ni Kansuru Chōsa* (Enquiry into Safety Committees and Safety Weeks), pp. 2 and 3.

The committees included in this table are all permanent institutions. The members are nominated usually for a year or six months by the employer, though there are also cases of election of the committee members by the workers from amongst themselves. Some of these committees are asked to perform wider functions than mere prevention of accidents. They deal often with the general question of workers' welfare as well as the relations with the employer. In these cases they may approximate to works committees. There are some which are nothing more than fire-brigades, the question of fire prevention being extremely serious in Japanese cities, especially when they are densely populated. Over 600 fires are reported every year from the fifty thousand factories coming under factory law. There are a few instances of advanced factories organising their workers in units, each unit having its safety committee, but this type of organisation is rare.

## CHAPTER VI

### SOCIAL INSURANCE

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#### *The Origins of Health Insurance in Japan*

The Japanese Health Insurance Act originated in the work of the Labour Section of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, which was set up by an Imperial Ordinance in 1920<sup>1</sup> and charged with investigating the question of social insurance with a view to legislation<sup>2</sup>. Within a year the Section had drafted a Health Insurance Bill, and another Imperial Ordinance created a special Commission to examine the Bill. This Commission was composed of some thirty members, Government officials and non-official experts under the chairmanship of the Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce supervised its labours. The result of the Commission's work was the Health Insurance Bill, which was submitted to the Imperial Diet in 1922 at its spring session and passed by the Lower House almost without discussion. The Bill had an equally good reception in the House of Peers, which when voting it, recommended that the scope of insurance should be gradually extended to include more classes of workers, and that invalidity and seamen's insurance should be introduced at an early date.

The Act was promulgated in April 1922, and was to have been enforced in two years' time. However, the earthquake of 1923 caused the enforcement to be deferred until 1 July 1926, when part of the Act was applied, the whole scheme coming

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<sup>1</sup> No. 291 of August 1920.

<sup>2</sup> The investigation involved not only documentary and actuarial studies, but the despatch of officials to European and American countries to observe the actual working of various existing systems and to compare their merits and shortcomings.

into operation on 1 January 1927. Before the Act came into force, the Bureau of Social Affairs organised lectures in the more important industrial and mining centres to familiarise both employers and workers with the principles of the Act.

*The Provisions of the Health Insurance Act*<sup>1</sup>

The Act makes insurance compulsory for all persons working in mines and factories to which the mining and factory legislation applies<sup>2</sup>. Provision is also made for the extension of the scheme to undertakings in the building, transport, engineering, and some other trades, and in factories not covered by the factory legislation, provided the employer obtains the previous consent of more than half the persons to be insured. Administrative employees whose salaries exceed 1,200 yen a year, workers of foreign nationality and temporary workers are excluded.

The insurance carriers are the State and health insurance societies (*Kenkō Hoken Kumiai*) which may be set up compulsorily by the Minister of the Interior or voluntarily with his permission. A voluntary society may be set up in an undertaking where not less than 300 but fewer than 500 insurable workers are employed and the consent of the majority of the workers has been obtained. Several employers, each employing less than 300 insurable workers, may combine to form a society the membership of which must not be less than 300, and in that case the combined employers may impose health insurance on the whole body of workers provided that the consent of the majority of the workers in each undertaking has been obtained, and with the permission of the Minister in respect of each undertaking. When 500 or more workers are employed the formation of a society is obligatory. In any case before a society begins to apply the scheme its rules must be approved by the authorities.

A society is composed of the employer and all insured persons in his undertaking together with such of his former employees who were and still desire to remain insured. A board of directors

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1922, Jap. 3; 1926, Jap. 4; 1927, Jap. 4: 1928, Jap. 3; 1929, Jap. 2; and *International Labour Review*, Dec. 1926, pp. 861-871.

<sup>2</sup> Agriculture, commerce, transport and small industrial undertakings are not covered.

and a delegate meeting manages the society, employers and workers being equally represented on each body. The function of the State is confined to securing compliance with the regulations and payment of the subsidy.

The State acts directly as the insurance carrier in respect of all insurable workers who are not covered by health insurance societies. The machinery consists of fifty health insurance offices (one in each of the forty-six prefectures and four in Hokkaido), for these offices work on a territorial basis while the societies operate by establishments. The Government offices are administered by civil servants and without representation of employers and workers. The Insurance Division of the Bureau of Social Affairs is the central supervisory authority ; locally the offices are supervised by the prefectural Governors.

The risks covered by the Health Insurance Act are sickness, injury, maternity and death. Benefits may be withheld in cases of self-inflicted injury or other fraudulent acts, or when there is obviously no need of benefit.

In cases of sickness or injury benefit is granted in the form of medical attendance and cash payments. Medical attendance includes medical advice and medicines, surgical operations and dental treatment, home nursing, hospital care, and conveyance in an ambulance when necessary. The cash benefit is reduced when hospital treatment is given, taking into account the family conditions of the worker.

Medical treatment begins from the day of the occurrence of the injury or sickness and continues for a maximum of 180 days in respect of the same illness or injury, or for a total of 180 days<sup>1</sup> in the course of a year in respect of several illnesses and injuries. Cases of illness which last more than 180 days are considered as being outside the scope of sickness insurance and coming within a scheme of invalidity insurance. In the case, however, of an illness or injury arising from an industrial cause, the limitation of 180 days does not apply. In addition to medical attendance, the sick or injured worker receives a cash benefit of 60 per cent. of his or her daily wages. The benefit is granted from the first day of the occurrence of injury or sickness if it is of industrial

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<sup>1</sup> The period has been limited to 180 days because health insurance is intended to give relief to sickness or injury of short duration, and statistics have confirmed that 98 per cent. of cases of incapacity of Japanese workers recover within 180 days.

origin ; otherwise the grant of the benefit begins only on the fourth day.

The workmen's compensation provisions of the factory and mining legislation<sup>1</sup> are linked up with the sickness and injury benefits granted under the Health Insurance Act. For the first 180 days within a year the insurance institution is responsible in case of sickness or injury of the insured worker. On the expiration of the maximum period of 180 days, if the worker still needs treatment, the employer becomes responsible for it provided that the sickness or injury has resulted from the employment. In this case the employer must pay, in accordance with the workmen's compensation provisions of the Factory Act or of the Mines Regulations, an "absence allowance" of 40 per cent. of wages and continue the medical treatment until the recovery of the worker, or for a period of three years from the date when he was incapacitated. If there is permanent incapacity, a lump sum varying from 40 to 540 days' wages is paid in proportion to its degree. Should the injury result in death a lump sum of at least 360 days' wages must be awarded to the surviving relations.

In the matter of maternity benefit, the health insurance scheme has been devised so as to supplement the provisions of the factory and mining laws. The amended Regulations for the enforcement of the Factory Act of 1923 and the amended Mines Regulations of 1926 prescribed for women who desired it a period of four weeks' suspension of work before confinement and an obligatory suspension of six weeks after confinement. By the grant of maternity benefit amounting to 60 per cent. of the daily wages of the women during these periods of suspension of work, the Health Insurance Act has facilitated the enforcement of the factory and mining regulations. In order to prevent a woman from taking up insurance for a short time with the sole object of obtaining benefit, the Act requires that in order to receive the benefit she must have been insured for at least 180 days before her confinement.

Apart from this maternity benefit which varies in amount in proportion to the wages, the insurance scheme provides for a further benefit of a lump sum of 20 yen as "confinement benefit". The object of this is to defray the expenses actually incurred on account of the confinement. As a rule the maternity and con-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part IV, Chapter IV, pp. 229-234, and Chapter V, pp. 248-250.

finement benefits are paid in cash, but if necessary the woman may be treated at a hospital, or by a doctor or midwife. In such cases, the insurance institution is entitled to reduce the amount of the cash maternity or confinement benefit. The confinement benefit is granted even after the woman has ceased to be insured, provided that the confinement takes place within 180 days after she has ceased to be insured.

In the case of the death of an insured worker, a funeral benefit amounting to thirty days' wages but not less than 30 yen is paid to the surviving relatives or former dependants of the deceased worker to defray the funeral expenses incurred. It can be paid even in the case of the death of a worker who had ceased to be insured if death takes place within ninety days of the date when he ceased to be insured.

The financial resources for the provision of benefits and for their administration are contributions from the employer and the worker, together with a State subsidy.

The State subsidy represents 10 per cent. of the expenditure on benefits incurred by each insurance institution; it is designed to cover approximately the total cost of administration and it is specially laid down that the liability of the State shall not exceed 2 yen a year per insured person.

The contributions of the employer and of the worker are in principle of equal amounts, and the amount varies with the wages of the worker. For the purpose of calculating contributions the workers are divided into sixteen wage classes, to the lowest of which the basic wage of 0.30 yen per day is attributed and to the highest a wage of 4 yen. The principle of equal contributions for the employer and the worker is waived in the case of workers receiving wages amounting to less than 55 sen a day. In such cases of very low wages, the employer's share is calculated on a basic wage of 60 sen a day while the worker's share is not increased. In specially dangerous trades the employer may be required to pay two-thirds of the contribution, but the worker's share of contribution may in no case exceed 3 per cent. of his wages. Moreover, during the period that the insured worker is receiving cash benefits either for sickness, injury or in maternity cases the worker's contribution must not be collected.

It is incumbent upon the employer to make the payments of the contributions both for the workers and for himself. The employer is authorised to deduct the amount of the worker's

contribution from his wages. If the employer fails to make the payment, he is liable to penalties <sup>1</sup>.

Complaints regarding benefits are dealt with by the Health Insurance Enquiry Boards of First and Second Instance. Any person who is not satisfied with the decisions of these Boards may in the last resort bring an action in a court of justice, or if he is dissatisfied with the assessment or collection of insurance contributions or other moneys he may appeal to the Minister of the Interior or may bring an action in the administrative court.

### *The Working of the Health Insurance Act*

*Insurance institutions.* — The total number of insured workers at the end of each year since the health insurance scheme was put into operation has been as follows <sup>2</sup> :

TABLE LXXVII. — NUMBER OF WORKERS COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE, 1926-1930 <sup>1</sup>

Year	Insured at health insurance offices	Insured in health insurance societies	Insured in mutual-aid societies	Total
1926	1,140,865	800,581	160,000 <sup>1</sup>	2,101,446
1927	1,115,221	774,023	160,000 <sup>1</sup>	2,049,244
1928	1,160,953	772,679	158,333	2,091,965
1929	1,032,380	773,529	165,955	1,971,864
1930	1,079,128	639,019	159,888	1,877,835

<sup>1</sup> Estimate : this affects the accuracy of the total figures for the year.

At the end of 1930, the total number of workers in Japanese factories and mines was 2,301,867 <sup>2</sup>, so that over 81 per cent. of the total factory and mining population of Japan were covered by the health insurance scheme.

The most important insurance institutions are the health

<sup>1</sup> The workers employed in various undertakings of the State, such as the Railways, Monopoly Bureau, Iron-foundry, Arsenal, etc., are for the most part covered by the mutual-aid societies of which the benefits are at least equal to those granted under the health insurance scheme. In the case of these mutual-aid societies in State undertakings, the Minister of the Interior controls their rules, while their actual operation is supervised by the various Departments concerned. (Cf. Part IV, Chapter IV.)

<sup>2</sup> Figures extracted from *Kenkō Hoken Jihō*, Monthly Bulletin of Health Insurance, published by the Insurance Division of the Bureau of Social Affairs.

<sup>3</sup> *Rōdō Jihō*, March 1931.



insurance offices. To ensure a more effective working of those offices, they were transferred in August 1929 to the local prefectural Governments. The number of administrative officials, secretaries, clerks and other employees engaged in health insurance administration in the central and local prefectural Government offices exceeds 2,000. Some local offices deal with large numbers of insured workers: the prefecture of Osaka has some 123,000 workers insured within its territory, Tokyo about 127,000, and Nagano 107,000.

There were 319 health insurance societies in the first year (1926) but they had increased in September 1931 to 344, classified as follows<sup>1</sup>:

TABLE LXXVIII. — HEALTH INSURANCE SOCIETIES, 1931

Textile factories . . . . .	137	Coal mines . . . . .	51
Machine and tool factories . .	58	Metal industry works . . .	19
Chemical factories . . . . .	38	Metal refining works . . .	3
Food and drink factories . .	12	Non-metal industry works .	1
Electricity, gas, smelting works . . . . .	3	Other works . . . . .	9
Miscellaneous mills . . . . .	13	Total .	344

There are ten mutual-aid societies carrying on the function of health insurance institutions with the sanction of the Minister of the Interior, all for workers in State enterprises and set up in accordance with Imperial Decrees<sup>2</sup>.

*Organisation of medical benefit.* — The organisation of medical benefit differs somewhat in the case of health insurance offices and in that of health insurance societies, but, generally speaking, it can be said that the system in force is that of free choice from a panel of doctors, dentists and pharmacists.

In the case of the health insurance offices, the Japan Medical Association, the State or public hospitals, and hospitals established by municipal bodies are responsible for all medical services except dentistry. The Japan Medical Association has entered into a contract with the Government and all the members of the Asso-

<sup>1</sup> The figures given are for September 1931 (cf. *Kenkō Hoken Jihō*, Jan. 1932).

<sup>2</sup> The mutual-aid societies in State enterprises are: (1) in the Printing Bureau of the Cabinet, (2) Monopoly Bureau, (3) Mint, (4) Military Arsenal, (5) Naval Arsenals, (6) Forestry work, (7) Iron-foundry, (8) Railways, (9) Postal, telephone and telegraph services, and (10) Civil engineering works.

ciation are "insurance doctors" for the purposes of the Health Insurance Act. The total number of "insurance doctors" is approximately 32,000, representing 80 per cent. of all doctors licensed to practise in Japan proper.

Remuneration of the doctors' services is based on a system of "points", which vary in number according to the nature of the treatment and in value according to the total number of cases treated in each prefecture<sup>1</sup>. The number of points varies in proportion to the nature of the treatment, whereas the remunerative value of a point varies in inverse ratio within fixed limits, because the total sum which the insurance system can pay within any period is fixed, while the number of cases may rise almost indefinitely in the event, for example, of an epidemic. Clearly the doctor who has treated the largest number of cases would receive the largest amount of remuneration, but the remunerative value of a point falls when there are a large number of cases<sup>2</sup>.

Payment is made by the Government to the Japan Medical Association according to the contract, which fixed a standard rate of remuneration payable to the Association. The standard rate was originally fixed after careful statistical estimates of the number of days of illness of Japanese workers and the estimated cost of their treatment (including diagnosis, supply of drugs and appliances, treatment, operations and medical services generally<sup>3</sup>. At present the standard rate agreed on by the contract is 7.754 yen for a factory worker and 9.754 yen<sup>4</sup> for a miner.

The Bureau of Social Affairs pays monthly to the Japan Medical Association one-twelfth of the standard rate figure multi-

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<sup>1</sup> For example, a visit to a patient's home within 1  $\frac{1}{4}$  miles or a consultation at a doctor's surgery are given 3 points each, an X-ray examination 15-30 points, extraction of a tooth 12 points, removal of tonsils 80 points, removal of appendix 250 points, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 18 July 1927, pp. 96-98.

<sup>3</sup> The average number of days of sickness of Japanese workers per year, according to an investigation specially made for the purpose of legislation, was 11.5. It was expected, however, that this number would increase when medical service became free. Accordingly it was raised by 50 per cent. to 17.3 days per year. Then it was assumed that the cost of all medical and dental treatment would be 0.50 yen per day or 8.65 yen per year. Deductions were then made for probable costs of nursing and transport, payable directly by the health insurance offices, and for the treatment of insured workers in State or municipal hospitals, etc. Modifications were made in the contract by the discovery of inaccuracies in the estimates after some time of actual experience. (For details, cf. Dr. TAICHI KITASHIMA: *Medical Aspect of the Health Insurance System of Japan*, Tokyo, 1929.)

<sup>4</sup> The high accident rate in mines accounts for this figure

plied by the number of insured persons in that month. The Association distributes to the branches in each prefecture a sum divided in proportion to the number of insured persons reported by each branch. The prefectural branch office of the Association, in making the payment, divides the sum of money received from the central office by the total number of points claimed by all the insurance doctors and establishes thereby the value of a unit for the month, and finally the doctor receives the remuneration from the branch office according to the number of points of treatment he has reported. The value of a point varies from month to month and from one prefecture to another; in some prefectures a point is worth over 20 sen, in others it falls below 10 sen.

In addition to the contract with the Japan Medical Association for general medical treatment, the Government has entered into contracts with the State or public hospitals. Some fourteen State hospitals and thirty-one public hospitals are concerned and the total payments made to these hospitals for the treatment of the insured workers represent an amount equivalent to 70 or 80 per cent. of the fees paid by uninsured persons generally.

At the outset the Government made a contract with the Japan Dentists' Association for dental treatment on the same basis as with the Japan Medical Association, the standard rate for remuneration per person per year having been fixed at a little over 68 sen. The experience of a few years, however, showed that the general contract was not satisfactory and at present the Government has a separate contract for every dentist, only leaving with the Japan Dentists' Association the responsibility of supervision of the insurance dentists, payment of remuneration for dental treatment, etc. Payment is made according to fixed rates. There are approximately 8,200 insurance dentists under this system, representing some 80 per cent. of all the dentists in Japan.

In Japan the separation of the medical profession from pharmacy has not developed to such an extent as is the case in many foreign countries. It is usually the doctor himself who supplies the drugs and pharmaceutical appliances to the patient. The contract between the Government and the Japan Pharmacists' Association only covers the supply of drugs on a doctor's prescription. The rate of payment by the Government to the Japan Pharmacists' Association is fixed to cover the cost of the drugs and of the containing bottles or other vessels, plus a small commission.

A large majority, or nearly three-fifths, of the existing health

insurance societies have concluded contracts with national or prefectural medical and dentists' associations on more or less similar lines to the Government's contracts. A little over a fifth have made contracts with medical or dentists' associations, but also utilise the hospitals or medical services attached to the factory or mine where the health insurance society has been set up. Rather less than a fifth depend mainly on the hospitals or medical services of the factories or mines concerned, or of the society itself; only about half a dozen societies have appointed their own doctors.

The most important difference between the health insurance offices and the health insurance societies with regard to the organisation of medical benefit is that, generally speaking, the societies pay much higher remuneration to the doctors and dentists than the insurance offices. A small section of the societies (about a fifth) has adopted the same system of a standard rate of remuneration per insured person as the health insurance offices. With these societies the standard rate varies between 7.42 and 16.30 yen. In the societies which depend on the medical services existing in the factories or mines concerned for the treatment of insured persons, the remuneration is usually low.

About a fifth of the existing societies have concluded contracts with dentists' associations (either national or prefectural) to pay dentists by various standard rates. Actually these rates vary between 0.61 and 2.20 yen per insured person per year.

There is no difference between the offices and societies in regard to pharmaceutic benefits.

*Finance.* — The financial resources of health insurance consist of the contributions of the employer and insured persons and the State subsidy. The rates of contribution may vary according to the risks involved in different industries, and in dangerous occupations the employer may be required to pay higher amounts than the insured persons. The health insurance offices charge 8 per cent. of the daily wages of the worker in the case of mines, the rate of contribution for the employer being 5 per cent. as against 3 per cent. for the miner. In respect of all other workers, the offices charge 4 per cent., the employer and the insured person both paying equally 2 per cent. of the worker's wage<sup>1</sup>. The rates of the health insurance societies vary consider-

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<sup>1</sup> At the end of February 1930, there were 33,936 insured persons in the health insurance societies for whom the contribution was 8 per cent. and 1,075,897 for whom the contribution was 4 per cent.

ably. At the end of 1927, in 202 out of 339 societies the employers' share was equal to that of the worker, in 49 societies 60 per cent. or less, in 38 societies 70 per cent. or less, in 44 societies 80 per cent. or less, in 1 society 90 per cent., and in 5 societies more than 90 per cent. up to the whole amount of contribution.

Detailed figures of receipts and expenditure of health insurance institutions are given in Table LXXIX (A) and (B)<sup>1</sup>.

*Preventive measures and supervision.* — Table LXXIX (B) setting out the expenditure of insurance institutions, shows by the sums of money expended on health measures the importance attached to prevention. Recent information on the methods of propaganda adopted is not available, but some of the activities of health insurance offices in 1926 and 1927 are worth mention. During 1927 over 980 lectures and cinematographic shows were given, and were attended by about 558,800 people; 58 health exhibitions were organised in working-class centres, attended by over 232,600 people; vaccination and other measures to prevent infectious diseases were widely adopted; educational posters and placards were shown in large numbers; swimming pools, playgrounds, etc., were provided for the use of insured workers.

In March 1927, 276 inspectors<sup>2</sup> had been appointed by the Health Insurance Offices in order to investigate claims for benefits, the adequacy of the medical treatment given and the accuracy of the employers' reports, and to give guidance to insured persons and others in regard to carrying out the formalities required under the Health Insurance Act.

*Attitude of employers, workers and doctors.* — As in other countries where health insurance has been introduced, the Japanese system gave rise to many complaints during the first year or two after the Act came into force. Some employers desired to restrict the scope of the insurance or to abolish it, while some workers thought that the employer should bear the whole contribution. "Insurance strikes" broke out as a result of disputes

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<sup>1</sup> Some details have already been given above in regard to mutual-aid societies carrying out the function of health insurance institutions in accordance with the Health Insurance Act. The annual receipts of the ten societies exceed 41,000,000 yen and their annual disbursements in benefits 16,000,000 yen

<sup>2</sup> This number has since been very much increased, but the exact figure is not available.

TABLE LXXIX. — FINANCIAL SITUATION OF HEALTH INSURANCE, 1926-1929  
(A) Receipts (i Yen)

	1926			1927			1928 <sup>2</sup>			1929 <sup>2</sup>	
	Offices	Societies	Total	Offices	Societies	Total	Offices	Societies	Total	Societies	Societies
Insurance contributions	3,495,997	4,359,753	7,855,750	18,211,859	18,217,602	36,429,461	18,785,547	18,746,062	37,418,609	18,645,112	
State subsidy	700,935	238,384	939,319	1,615,000	1,667,628	3,282,628	1,600,000	1,535,262	3,135,262	1,402,877	
Other receipts <sup>1</sup>	352,570	220,624	573,194	7,510	1,660,973	1,668,483	40,714	1,264,460	1,305,683	2,565,660	
Total	4,549,502	4,818,761	9,368,263	19,834,369	21,546,303	41,380,672	20,376,261	21,546,303	41,922,564	22,613,649	

<sup>1</sup> These include gifts, moneys carried over from the previous year or transferred from other sources, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Figures for 1928 and 1929 are budget estimates

(B) Expenditure (in Yen)

	1926			1927			1928 <sup>2</sup>			1929 <sup>2</sup>	
	Offices	Societies	Total	Offices	Societies	Total	Offices	Societies	Total	Societies	Societies
Medical treatment	2,188,379	1,912,534	4,100,913	9,472,694	8,980,123	18,452,817	9,799,417	9,218,817	19,018,234	9,047,836	
Sickness or injury benefits	886,979	1,614,720	2,503,699	5,817,042	7,623,085	13,440,127	5,875,297	7,767,467	13,442,764	7,707,393	
Funeral benefit	33,697	41,987	75,682	224,776	184,213	408,989	236,942	219,657	456,599	225,759	
Confinement benefit	118,674	85,104	203,778	674,470	315,816	990,286	685,191	326,585	1,011,776	328,146	
Maternity benefit	79,770	114,345	194,115	656,907	558,686	1,215,593	703,783	640,521	1,344,304	617,800	
Total	3,309,499	3,768,688	7,078,189	16,845,899	17,661,923	34,507,812	17,300,630	18,173,047	35,473,677	17,926,934	
Salaries	110,599	86,837	197,436	548,663	508,372	1,057,335	587,830	748,586	1,336,416	822,103	
Office expenses	439,864	78,943	518,807	1,443,109	1,21,018	1,564,127	1,562,867	199,673	1,762,540	182,919	
Health measures	27,309	11,792	39,101	194,678	80,210	274,888	158,178	260,592	418,770	409,296	
Other expenses <sup>1</sup>	1,308	44,748	46,056	745,962	105,732	850,694	17,655	535,231	552,886	3,272,497	
Grand total	3,888,579	3,991,008	7,879,587	19,778,301	18,477,255	38,255,556	19,627,160	19,917,129	39,514,289	23,613,649	

<sup>1</sup> These include repatriation of the office rooms, reserves for unforeseen expenditure, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Figures for 1928 and 1929 are budget estimates. Figures of receipts and expenditure for 1926-1928 are as reported by the Bureau of Social Affairs to the International Labour Office; those for 1929 are from *Kenkō Hoken Jihō*, May 1929, p. 38.

between employers and workers on the question of insurance contributions. The doctors also were no less dissatisfied with the system than the employers or workers on account of the unexpectedly overwhelming number of insurance cases ; they felt they had made a bad bargain.

Large employers' organisations such as the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Tokyo and Osaka, the Japan Industrial Club, the Cotton Spinners' Association and the Mine Owners' Federation began a movement for the amendment of the Act. They proposed, *inter alia*, that the contribution of the State should be increased, that injuries and sickness of industrial origin be excluded from health insurance and dealt with under the compensation provisions of the factory and mining laws, that Government supervision over the health insurance societies should be relaxed, and that benefits should be withheld in cases of venereal disease and chronic or endemic diseases which are difficult to cure. Some employers held that the risks were already sufficiently covered by the compensation provisions of the existing factory or mining laws and they advocated on this ground the repeal of the Health Insurance Act.

On the whole, Japanese workers recognised that the principle of compulsory insurance was sound, but there was a wide difference of opinion between the Right and Left Wing workers' unions as to the manner in which it should be financed ; some unions of the Left Wing maintained the view that the employer should bear the entire burden of insurance contributions. The workers generally desired that the system of medical treatment should be improved and the scope of insurance extended, regardless of budgetary considerations. There was also a demand made by the Social Democratic Party that health insurance societies should be administered solely by the workers.

The working of the insurance system in the first year or two was unfavourable to the doctors because of the unexpected number of insured patients who presented themselves for treatment, suffering mostly from slight ailments and hardly needing medical attention. The contract which the Japan Medical Association had signed with the Government was based on an estimate that the average number of days' illness of an insured person would be seventeen and a third days a year, and on this estimate the value of a unit of treatment would be 0.20 yen. Contrary to this expectation, the number of days of treatment was larger by

70 per cent. than the estimated number, although a 50 per cent. increase over the average number of days' illness had been allowed for in the light of the experience of the mutual-aid societies. In consequence of the unexpected increase of the number of cases, the remunerative value of a point fell much below the original estimate, falling steadily from 0.094 yen in March to 0.087 yen in May 1927. In this situation, some doctors began to demand the cancellation of the contract, and in some cases they went so far as to refuse to treat patients, giving rise to the complaint by insured persons that the doctors discriminated between them and ordinary patients and that the treatment given them was inferior.

With a view to meeting these complaints, the Government<sup>1</sup> consulted the Commission for the investigation of social insurance; a sub-committee of the Commission was set up in July 1927 which took evidence from all parties concerned, and in October the Commission made a series of recommendations, some to be dealt with by amendment of the Health Insurance Act and others by administrative measures. Although the amending Act<sup>2</sup> did not carry out all the recommendations of the Commission<sup>3</sup>, some legislative reforms were effected. The amending Act slightly modified the legal procedure for the enforcement of the payment of contributions, raised the rate of funeral benefit and deprived insured persons of their right to benefit when the sickness or injury is due to misconduct. To check the abuse of medical benefit by insured persons and to secure adequate treatment by doctors, various administrative measures were taken. Among these were the appointment of insurance inspectors and discouragement of insured persons from unnecessarily consulting insurance doctors. The effect of the measures taken to improve the situation was progressively to raise the remunerative value of the "point" until, in February 1928, it was little short of the estimated value of 0.20 yen.

On the whole, the Japanese health insurance system has been a success, taking into account the fact that it was an entirely-new experiment. The storm of criticism that arose in the beginning

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 26 Dec. 1927, pp. 424-425.

<sup>2</sup> Promulgated in March 1929

<sup>3</sup> The Bureau of Social Affairs desired to have further experience of the working of the health insurance system before any important alterations were attempted.



has gradually subsided. Control exercised by administrative measures has reduced the applications for medical treatment to reasonable limits. The contracts with doctors have been modified in some cases and in others supplementary remuneration has been granted to doctors' and dentists' associations in order to meet circumstances unforeseen when the Act was drafted.

### *Seamen's Insurance*

While a system of insurance has been in contemplation for some years, the relief of Japanese seamen in case of sickness or injury is still governed by the following provision of the Commercial Code (section 578) :

If a seamen during the time of his service without any excess or gross fault of his own falls sick or is hurt, the shipowner shall bear the cost of his medical treatment and attention for a period not exceeding three months.

Under the foregoing paragraph a seaman shall be entitled to his wages for the time during which he shall have rendered service. He shall be entitled to his whole wages if sickness or injury arises out of the performance of his duties.

The inadequacy of these provisions has been officially recognised, and for several years the Department of Communications made studies with a view to presenting a Seamen's Insurance Bill at the same time that the Health Insurance Bill was introduced. It was not, however, considered opportune to present a Bill in 1922 ; and the earthquake of 1923 and the financial crisis which followed it prevented the question being carried any further during the next few years. Meanwhile, the Bureau of Social Affairs had been set up ; and, in July 1927, the Bureau began with the help of the prefectural Governors, to collect from owners of vessels exceeding 500 tons information on seamen's wages, years of service, ages, number of members in seamen's families, number of days on which medical treatment was given and of absence from work on account of sickness, number of cases of death or invalidity, etc. On the basis of the information thus collected a draft Bill was prepared which would have insured about 66,000 seamen and required a State subsidy of approximately 1,000,000 yen annually.

The Bill as originally drafted provided for compulsory insurance against sickness, injury, invalidity, old age and death,

including survivors' pensions. It covered all seamen in sea-going vessels (excepting some small vessels specified) and ships' officers with an annual salary not exceeding 1,800 yen.

In regard to sickness and injury benefit it followed very much the same lines as the health insurance scheme: medical aid until recovery if the sickness or injury arose out of the seaman's employment, and in other cases for a period not exceeding 180 days; a daily cash benefit of 60 per cent. of wages during temporary incapacity for work, to be paid so long as the seaman was under treatment and subject to a waiting period of three days if the incapacity did not arise out of the employment; for permanent incapacity reducing earning power by two-thirds or more a pension from 25 to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. of wages, or if the incapacity was less than two-thirds but more than one-third of earning power a lump sum of 100 to 200 per cent. of annual wages according to the degree of incapacity, with a 50 per cent. increase in both cases if the incapacity arose out of the employment. The scheme also provided for an old-age pension at sixty years of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. of the seaman's annual wages on condition that the minimum period of insurance had been completed, and for survivors' pensions on a scale of 10 per cent. of wages to a maximum of  $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. of wages according to the number of dependants. The contribution was to be 40 per cent. from seamen and shipowners respectively, 20 per cent. from the State.

The Bill was submitted for observations to a meeting of the Counsellors of the Bureau of Social Affairs and the Commission for the investigation of insurance, and also to the leading organisations of shipowners and seamen. The shipowners opposed it vigorously and industrial employers objected to the inclusion in a seamen's insurance scheme of provisions for old-age, invalidity and survivors' pensions. The seamen themselves were not altogether favourable to the draft, on the ground that the seaman's contribution was too high. Nor were the Government's advisers unanimously in favour of the scheme. A committee of Government representatives, shipowners and seamen was therefore appointed to amend the original draft, and after meeting more than twenty times this committee submitted a new plan. Briefly summed up, the main alterations made were as follows: all pensions were replaced by temporary allowances; compulsory insurance for ships' officers was to be limited to those with

salaries not exceeding 1,400 yen ; the rate of insurance contribution of insured seamen was reduced from 8 to 5 per cent. of daily earnings ; maternity benefit for women employed at sea was added.

In this amended form, the Government introduced the Bill into Parliament at its winter session of 1930-1931, but the Diet rose before the Bill was adopted and it has not been re-introduced.

### *Post Office Insurance and Annuities*

While Post Office insurance is not social insurance, it should be mentioned in this chapter because, pending the introduction of social insurance for all workers, it serves a useful purpose as it is simple and accessible to the poorest class of people.

When ordinary life insurance business was first introduced into Japan in 1881 it was too costly for the working people. About twelve years later a few companies began to issue special life insurance policies for small amounts, but the scheme was found to be unsatisfactory and the Government put an end to it. Meanwhile, the Departments of Communications and of Agriculture and Commerce looked into the possibilities of a simple insurance scheme. The outcome of this investigation was the Simple Life Insurance Act enacted early in 1916 and brought into operation in October of the same year. Under this Act insurance business was transacted at all post offices (now some 8,000 in all), and twelve months later Ordinances were issued permitting the reserves of the insurance fund to be loaned at low rates of interest for purposes of public welfare, and setting up a commission of enquiry to deal with complaints or disputes regarding this insurance. In September 1917, in addition to the simple life insurance, a scheme of old-age insurance based on endowment policies was launched. A special Bureau was set up in September 1920 to deal with Post Office insurance, and "health consultation stations" were established two years later in all large towns at which simple cases of sickness and injury of insured persons are treated. In view of the popularity of the system, it has been extended from Japan proper to Formosa, Korea, Kwantung Province and the South Sea Islands.

Under this scheme policies are divided into two classes : whole-life and endowment policies. Endowment policies are for ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five or forty years, and are divided into classes according to the duration of the

period during which premium is paid. Whole-life policies consist of ordinary policies, and limited payment policies in which the payments are for periods of ten, fifteen or twenty years. In the case of endowment policies, the premiums may be paid during the whole insurance term for each policy but for policies maturing after 20 years, arrangements may be made to pay premiums during ten years only, while for policies maturing after thirty years payment during ten or twenty years may be arranged. Persons between twelve and sixty years of age are entitled to be insured under the system. The rates of premium are worked out on the following basis :

- (1) The mortality table is computed by adding 20 per cent. to the mortality rates of the Japanese population (compiled by the Statistical Bureau of the Cabinet from the data of the years 1898-1904).
- (2) Interest at the rate of 3.5 per cent. per year. The valuation is effected annually on the same basis by the net premium method.

Policies are issued only for multiples of 10 sen of monthly premium, and are limited to amounts between 20 yen and 450 yen; two or more insurances may be effected on any one life provided that the aggregate sum insured in no case exceeds 450 yen. No medical examination is required, but in all cases the applicant must have a personal interview with an official of the Post Office. In order to prevent persons in poor health from taking up insurance, the full sums insured are not paid if the insured person dies within two years from the date of issue of the policy. Instead, if death occurs within one year the premiums paid to the time of death are returned, and if within two years one-half of the sum insured is paid. If the insured person dies through an accident or of an infectious disease the full insurance is paid. Premiums are payable monthly, and are collected by postmen or may be paid at the Post Office. Seamen, farmers, emigrants and others who have difficulty in paying regularly may pay lump sums in advance. In case of serious disability resulting from an accident (such as the loss of sight, amputation of one or more limbs, etc.) the insured person may be exempted from further payment of the premium.

Measures are taken to provide against the lapsing of policies : in order to facilitate the prolongation of the validity of policies,

two months' grace is allowed after the lapse of one month during which the premium must normally be paid. A life policy can be converted into an endowment policy, the period of payment of premium may be shortened, or the amount of premium reduced. A policy holder may also benefit by loans from the insurance system at specially low rates of interest (4.8 per cent.). In case of the surrender or lapsing of a policy, a sum equivalent to between 80 per cent. and 98 per cent. of the reserve accumulated for the insured person may be refunded provided that one year has elapsed since the contract came into force.

The whole business of the Post Office life insurance is conducted by the Bureau of Post Office Life Insurance in the Department of Communications. A special account is kept, separated from the general account of the Treasury. All expenses of the business are defrayed out of its own income. Deficits are made up by subsidies from the Treasury. The insurance fund is placed under the control of the Minister of Communications, who on the advice of a special investments commission makes loans to enterprises aiming at social welfare. To avoid the complicated and expensive procedure of action in the law courts, the Post Office Life Insurance Committee of Enquiry gives legal assistance without charge to the policy-holder<sup>1</sup>.

Post Office insurance was a success from the outset, and it has continued to flourish. At the end of 1929 there were some 14,275,000 policy-holders insured for a total sum of 1,895,884,000 yen ; 4,129,000 were life insurances, while the rest were endowments or old-age insurances ; the total amount of life insurance was 558,290,000 yen. The sums insured varied greatly, but the largest number of insurance policies were for sums below 100 yen. In 1929 there were upwards of 75,300 deaths among the insured persons throughout Japan, which involved the payment of approximately 10,158,000 yen out of the insurance fund.

The insurance fund has continued to grow, until it reached the sum of 358,850,000 yen in 1929. From the beginning the policy of the Government has been to utilise the fund for loans either to insured persons (at an interest rate of 4.8 per cent.) or to purchase bonds of public or municipal bodies. Every year about 10 per cent. of the funds are invested in State or municipal bonds.

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<sup>1</sup> Beneficiaries or policy-holders are required to submit any complaints first to this Committee before they bring an action in a court of justice.

Post Office deferred life or immediate life annuities are also purchasable <sup>1</sup>. They became popular at once and statistics show a steady growth year by year. At the end of 1929 there were 191,549 annuities with 13,741,326 yen invested. The maximum amount of annuity purchasable on the life of any one person is 2,400 yen, while the minimum is 120 yen if the premiums are paid in instalments and 12 yen if the premium is paid in one sum. The average amount of the annuities in 1929 was 71.6 yen <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Post Office Annuities Ordinance (Imperial Ordinance No. 281, dated 10 August 1926).

<sup>2</sup> *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, 1931 edition, p. 60.

## PART V

# UNEMPLOYMENT AND MIGRATION

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### CHAPTER I

## UNEMPLOYMENT

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### *Extent of Unemployment*

Seasonal unemployment and unemployment due to cyclical fluctuations of trade have been known in Japan since the early days of industrialisation, but widespread unemployment, the effects of which become increasingly severe in proportion to its degree of permanence, has only been a serious social question during the last ten years or so.

The geographical situation of Japan permitted her industries to expand enormously during the war period, and this expansion led to over-industrialisation. The result was that "the armistice was the signal for a catastrophic collapse of many undertakings that had sprung up as a result of the war, and in the first few years after the war Japanese industry passed through a critical period of depression"<sup>1</sup>. Many workers lost their employment as the result of the closing down of factories. Small businesses, with insecure financial resources, were the first affected; but the crisis was felt even by State undertakings and in January and April 1921 the State Railway Department was obliged to dismiss a considerable number of its workers.

The decisions of the Disarmament Conference at Washington in the same year aggravated the situation, for the reduction in

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. F. AYUSAWA : *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, p. 61.

1922 of naval armaments in pursuance of the Washington Agreement caused the discontinuance of work in a number of private shipbuilding firms, and in some instances the works were closed down altogether. This deprived many workers of their employment, and it was followed in March 1923 by a considerable discharge of workers from the army and navy arsenals, docks, etc. In April, the same fate overtook the salaried staff in the employ of the Army and Navy Departments.

Then came the disastrous earthquake of September 1923, which destroyed hundreds of factories and ruined some of the richest and most prosperous cities and towns of Japan. Unemployment increased to an alarming extent, for "workers who had escaped death found themselves without shelter, without food and without work"<sup>1</sup>. According to an official report at this time there were "in and around the city of Tokyo 96,103 unemployed workers" (36.6 per 1,000 persons), and "29,143 workers were without work in Yokohama and its vicinity"<sup>2</sup>. Clearly this was an abnormal situation and the reconstruction of the areas devastated by the earthquake and fire provided work for many unemployed workers; but this did not by any means solve, even temporarily, the problem of unemployment, for financial stringency continued.

To the earlier discharges of workers from the Army and Navy Departments came, in 1924, the dismissal of a large number of employees by the State Treasury, so that, if the short period immediately following the earthquake is excepted, there had never before in the history of Japan been so many skilled workers unemployed. Finally, the gravity of the situation was intensified in the winter of 1924 by the dismissal of some 20,000 public servants as a measure of administrative reform (in Japanese *gyosei seiri*) and to reduce the burden of the budget. Even before this, non-manual workers had been faced with increasing difficulties in finding employment, and another mass of discharged State servants added to their ranks created a disquieting situation.

The post-war unemployment problem was made more serious by the increasing tendency for the urban industrial population to lose touch with the land. Before the war, workers from the country came into the towns when there was an unusual pressure of industrial work, but when this pressure was relieved, or when

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran*, 1924 edition, p. 134.



a definitely slack season set in, a large proportion of the displaced workers were able to return to agricultural work. This mobility of the labour force greatly facilitated the adjustment of the labour market when trade slackened. The rapid industrial expansion during the war years, however, resulted in a big increase in the permanent industrial population of the towns, and, when the slump came, many workers had been too long absent from their villages to have a home in the country to which they could return. The industrialisation of the rural districts, which was stimulated by the war, was little help to them, for the groups of factories which had sprung up in the country were themselves in difficulties and could no longer absorb even the local labour.

*National Unemployment Census.* — It was at this period that a beginning was made with the collection of such unemployment statistics as exist in Japan. As part of the interim National Census of 1925, an "Unemployment Census" was taken. A similar census was taken in 1930 on the occasion of the last full National Census, and its results will be used, together with the monthly estimates of the Bureau of Social Affairs, as the basis of the information on the extent of unemployment given in this chapter<sup>1</sup>.

The "Unemployment Census"<sup>2</sup> of 1925 comprised the investigation of twenty-six industrial and mining centres. Employees earning less than 200 yen a month and wage earners in agriculture, fishing, mining, manufacturing industries, commerce, transport, Government employment and domestic service were covered, as well as workers engaged on labour contracts of varying length, including casual workers. Any worker in these occupations having the physical capacity and the will to work but unable to find employment was considered as unemployed for the purposes of the investigation. Casual or day labourers were regarded as unemployed if they had no work on the day previous to the day of the investigation.

The Unemployment Census of 1930 was carried out on a national scale covering Hokkaido and all the forty-six prefectures of Japan proper. The basis as regards occupations of workers and

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the sources of information on the extent of unemployment, cf. S. IMEI: "Unemployment in Japan", in *International Labour Review*, Oct. 1930.

<sup>2</sup> The order for this census was given by Imperial Decree and a special credit of 150,000 yen was voted for the purpose by the Diet.

the definition of unemployment was the same as in 1925. The 1930 census showed that the total number of workers actually unemployed on 1 October 1930 throughout Japan was 322,527. The greater number were concentrated in big cities such as Osaka, with 30,190 unemployed workers, Tokyo 22,878, Yokohama 12,683, Kobe 9,958, Nagoya 8,458, Kyoto 4,201, etc. The total number of the unemployed in cities was 151,225 representing 46.9 per cent. of the unemployed workers for the whole country.

An accurate comparison of the 1925 and 1930 figures is possible only in respect of the twenty-six industrial centres and mining districts which were covered by the original enquiry. The comparison shows that in these districts there was an increase of unemployment by 49,963 workers, or 47.3 per cent. of the total, the actual number having risen from 105,612 in 1925 to 155,575 in 1930. Further details are given in the following table :

TABLE LXXX. — UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE MORE IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL OR MINING CENTRES IN 1925 AND 1930 <sup>1</sup>

Districts	1925	1930
Tokyo and neighbourhood . . . . .	39,117	61,024 <sup>2</sup>
Osaka and neighbourhood . . . . .	18,382	30,473
Yokohama and neighbourhood . . . . .	9,044	12,683
Kobe and neighbourhood . . . . .	8,116	10,068
Nagoya and neighbourhood . . . . .	4,963	8,849
Kyoto and neighbourhood . . . . .	3,038	5,614
Hiroshima and neighbourhood . . . . .	2,197	2,652
Moji alone . . . . .	1,379	2,245
Nagasaki and neighbourhood . . . . .	2,762	2,323
Kure . . . . .	2,325	1,977
Yawata . . . . .	2,428	1,946

<sup>1</sup> *Shokugyō Shōkai Kōhō*, Dec. 1930, p. 14

<sup>2</sup> The number of unemployed in the City of Tokyo alone was 22,878 as mentioned in the text. The number given here includes those in the vicinity

*Monthly estimates of unemployment.* — There is no national system of unemployment insurance in Japan and the trade unions are not sufficiently well organised to provide reliable information at regular intervals, so that no accurate information is available as to the number of unemployed at a given moment. The Bureau of Social Affairs has attempted to meet the situation by publishing monthly estimates <sup>1</sup> of unemployment, covering very much the same occupations as the unemployment census. These estimates have been issued since September 1929 and are based on the reports of the local Governors.

<sup>1</sup> For each month some 7,000,000 workers are investigated from all parts of Japan proper to make the estimate.

Table LXXXI gives the monthly figures of unemployment from October 1930 to September 1931 as shown by the estimates of the Bureau of Social Affairs.

TABLE LXXXI. — MONTHLY ESTIMATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT,  
OCTOBER 1930-SEPTEMBER 1931<sup>1</sup>

Month	Total number investigated	Total number unemployed	Average percentage of unemployed
1930 October	6,936,926	374,140	5.4
November	6,894,647	350,265	5.1
December	6,890,248	362,050	5.3
1931 January	6,888,968	371,802	5.4
February	6,901,576	387,460	5.6
March	6,851,061	396,828	5.8
April	6,931,464	394,625	5.7
May	6,958,471	401,415	5.8
June	6,537,844	371,421	5.6
July	6,983,663	406,923	5.8
August	6,994,198	418,596	6.0
September	7,077,778	425,526	6.0

<sup>1</sup> *Shokugyō Shōkai Kōhō*, April 1931-Jan. 1932

### *Legislative and Other Measures to Deal with Unemployment*

*Unemployment relief.* — Before 1924 Government measures to deal with unemployment were confined to the establishment of free public employment exchanges all over the country after the ratification of the Convention concerning unemployment adopted at the First Session of the International Labour Conference, in 1919. The necessity of providing immediate relief measures to meet unemployment was brought home to the Government by the earthquake, and under this stimulus subsidies were given to victims of the disaster who, being unemployed, desired to migrate to South America<sup>1</sup>. The first step towards the granting of State subsidies for the relief of unemployment was taken when the employment exchange boards were set up by special legislation<sup>2</sup>.

In 1925, with the exchange value of the yen falling, employers and workers alike were in difficulties caused by the high prices of commodities and of rice in particular. There was a general

<sup>1</sup> After 1924 all classes of workers (whether unemployed or not) were assisted to emigrate abroad or to migrate to the Island of Hokkaido.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1925, Jap. I.

(6) Setting up of works committees, with the objects of the raising of efficiency and prevention of unemployment.

(7) Teaching of manual work to enable the worker to supplement his earnings in his spare time.

(8) Vocational guidance for young workers ; re-education of unemployed workers.

(9) (a) Urgent measures to deal with the unemployment of non-manual workers.

(b) Reform of the system and of policies of higher education.

(10) Setting up of committees with the object of organising methods of relief and prevention of unemployment.

So far, with the exception of (1) and (5) (a), few of these measures have been developed to any considerable extent. A beginning had been made with vocational guidance schemes some years before, when local Governors and the Director of the Central Employment Exchange Board were instructed to promote co-operation between school authorities and employment exchanges. Moreover, after the change of Government in July 1929, public works were extended to other areas than the large towns and their vicinity, and other bodies than prefectural or municipal authorities were authorised to undertake them ; also they were not necessarily limited to the winter months but might be carried

TABLE LXXXII. — EXTENT OF PUBLIC WORKS UNDERTAKEN  
FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF, 1925-1931<sup>1</sup>

Year	Total cost of the works	Wages paid to the workers	Aggregate number of workers employed	Number of workers employed per day	State subsidy
	Yen	Yen			Yen
1925	5,776,071	1,785,684	964,813	6,826	892,842
1926	3,431,736	1,323,826	1,689,287	6,194	648,469
1927	3,522,020	1,500,928	771,583	5,744	721,241
1928	2,757,832	1,148,596	611,612	4,875	569,415
1929	14,586,070	2,400,762	1,344,349	11,073	1,103,521
1930	51,154,391	13,489,669	7,760,230	—	3,949,234
1931	31,070,269	6,782,522	3,781,178	—	1,518,186

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. KAWANISHI : " Wagakuni Genka no Shitsugyo Taisaku " (Present Measures for the Prevention of Unemployment in Japan), in *Shakai Seisaku Jihō*, Feb. 1931, pp. 6-17. The figures for 1930 and 1931 are estimates.

out at other seasons. The quasi-limitation of relief work to the assistance of casual labourers was withdrawn. It was also provided that a given proportion of the materials used on relief works should be produced in Japan. A worker's booklet (*Rōdō Techō*) was introduced and was found useful as a means of

identifying unemployed workers. The Commission for the Adjustment of Works (*Jigyō Chōsetsu Inkai*), later linked with the Commission for the Prevention of Unemployment (*Shitsugyō Bōshi Inkai*), took in hand not only the organisation of the works so as to absorb the greatest number of workers but also the task of studying the relationship between unemployment and public works.

The extent of unemployment relief since 1925 is shown in table LXXXII (page 295) covering the seven years 1925-1931.

*Unemployment relief for seamen.* — Until 1931 no measures for the relief of unemployment among seamen had been taken, but the increasing unemployment, due to the prevailing shipping depression, led the seamen's organisations in the latter part of 1930 to ask for the introduction of such measures. A credit of 450,000 yen was voted by the Diet for these purposes and became available from 1 April 1931. The scheme provided for relief work for unemployed seamen in six special institutions managed by the Japan Seamen's Union; the work consisted mainly in the manufacture of rope, swabs, brooms, etc., and the remuneration was estimated at from 0.80 to 1.10 yen per person per day, of which the Government grant was 0.60 yen. Relief work for unemployed officers was also provided for in Tokyo and six other main centres, under the control of the Joint Maritime Board. In this case, the work consisted mainly in the collection of data for the Board, Government Departments and seamen's organisations, the remuneration being estimated at from 0.80 to 1.60 yen per person per day, of which the Government grant was also 0.60 yen.

It was estimated that this scheme would provide relief work for 1,800 persons daily, or about 38 per cent. of the total number of seamen unemployed at the end of February 1931; in all about 600,000 days' work would be provided during the fiscal year 1931<sup>1</sup>.

*Public employment exchanges.* — Public employment exchanges were set up in Japan under the Employment Exchange Act of April 1921 and the Seamen's Employment Exchange Act of April 1922, which were passed to carry out the provisions of Article 2 of the Washington Convention concerning unemployment and the provisions of the Genoa Convention for establishing

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Industrial and Labour Information*, 20 July 1931

facilities for finding employment for seamen<sup>1</sup>. Two years after the Employment Exchange Act was promulgated the creation of employment offices was expedited by an Imperial Decree providing that the Minister of the Interior might compel any town of more than 30,000 inhabitants to set up a free employment exchange. At the same time it was made known that a State subsidy up to one-sixth of the initial expenditure in building and organising the work of an exchange could be obtained.

There are now (early in 1932) 421 exchanges under the jurisdiction of seven local exchange boards, 100 of these having been set up during 1931. The Central Employment Exchange Board, in Tokyo, supervises and controls the local boards and is itself responsible to the Bureau of Social Affairs. The distribution of the exchanges is shown below :

TABLE LXXXIII. — EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE OFFICES, FEBRUARY 1932<sup>1</sup>

	No of exchanges
1. Tokyo Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 10 Prefectures) . . . . .	91
2. Osaka Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 14 Prefectures) . . . . .	59
3. Nagoya Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 7 Prefectures) . . . . .	43
4. Fukuoka Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 9 Prefectures) . . . . .	55
5. Awomori Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 7 Prefectures) . . . . .	67
6. Nagano Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 5 Prefectures) . . . . .	54
7. Okayama Local Employment Exchange Board (covers 7 Prefectures) . . . . .	52

<sup>1</sup> *Shokugyō Shōkai Kōho*, Feb. 1932, p. 33

The exchanges are free and public, and are on a national scale. and the work is assisted by the Employment Exchange Commission, which was created under an Imperial Ordinance<sup>2</sup>; prominent representatives of the employers and workers are included in an advisory capacity to control the working of the exchanges. Local employment exchange commissions have been set up in connection with all the local employment exchange boards.

The work of the exchanges is co-ordinated by local exchange

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1921, Jap. 1-4, and 1922, Jap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1924, Jap. 1.

boards<sup>1</sup> composed of officials ; these boards receive regularly (at intervals of ten days, a month, and three months) reports from the heads of exchanges showing the number of applicants for work, requests to be supplied with workers and placing of applicants, etc. Mayors of towns must send in reports on the state of the labour market. Wireless is being extensively used to inform the public of the unemployment situation and has also been found of great value in notifying vacancies and in placing workers.

The exchanges are becoming more useful since they have been able to specialise in their work, i.e. since special exchanges have been set up for particular classes of workers. Workers use the exchanges increasingly ; in 1930 and 1931 the numbers of applicants rose suddenly, and now over 1,000,000 general workers and 5,000,000 casual labourers apply in the course of a year. Employers are learning to make more use of the exchanges ; in 1930 there were notified 900,000 vacancies for general workers and 5,000,000 for casual labourers, representing a 30 to 40 per cent increase over the figures for the previous year.

Owing to economic depression, however, the proportion of general workers placed fell suddenly in 1925 and the persistence of bad business has kept the proportion deplorably low in the last six years. Casual labourers do better than general workers ; over 80 per cent. of the former are always placed, but since 1925 barely 30 per cent. of the latter have been placed in any year as against over 46 per cent. before 1925. Non-manual workers are in an even worse case ; in recent years work could only be found for 10 per cent. as against 36 per cent. ten years ago.

Table LXXXIV (A and B) gives figures of the placing of general workers and casual labourers (see page 299).

Workers who are placed by the exchanges are given tickets entitling them to a 50 per cent. reduction of the fare on the trains and ferry-boats of the State Railways<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the employment exchanges are authorised to advance the workers' travelling expenses to the place of employment to which they are going<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1925, Jap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Notification No. 759 of the Department of the Interior dated 24 November 1924. The same privilege is accorded to maritime workers by Notification No. 1827 of the Department of Communications.

<sup>3</sup> As yet this privilege is not used to a great extent. For example in December 1930 there were only 233 workers who borrowed from the employment exchange offices 608 yen in all under this provision. These facilities were only used in Tokyo.

TABLE LXXXIV. — WORK OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES, 1920-1930 <sup>1</sup>(A) *Placing of General Workers*

Year	Number of workers demanded	Number of workers applying for work	Number of workers placed	Percentage placed
1920	95,431	115,783	61,629	53.2
1921	338,054	312,304	151,304	48.4
1922	450,729	453,267	199,962	44.1
1923	517,407	710,438	312,550	43.4
1924	1,095,567	979,346	444,382	45.4
1925	853,950	877,982	283,598	32.3
1926	729,720	780,615	222,563	28.5
1927	624,550	794,686	215,608	27.1
1928	690,275	750,791	215,717	28.7
1929	720,521	882,491	263,669	29.9
1930	904,730	1,168,114	336,197	28.8

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran*, 1931 edition, pp. 244-249(B) *Placing of Casual Labourers*

Year	Number of workers demanded	Number of workers applying for work	Number of workers placed	Percentage placed
1920	92,100	159,174	95,789	60.2
1921	335,279	360,625	316,360	87.7
1922	722,173	772,790	697,617	90.3
1923	1,158,134	1,318,648	1,091,047	82.7
1924	1,325,673	1,535,496	1,263,712	82.3
1925	1,288,086	1,680,438	1,270,578	78.4
1926	2,522,177	2,793,384	2,477,746	88.7
1927	2,386,231	2,752,643	2,374,471	86.3
1928	2,977,201	3,373,871	2,973,242	88.1
1929	3,015,195	3,473,237	3,010,280	86.7
1930	5,128,345	6,174,973	5,121,110	82.9

To protect day labourers employed through the intermediary of public employment exchanges, the exchange offices are empowered by an Imperial Ordinance <sup>1</sup> to advance daily wages to the day labourers placed by them to work at private establishments. The importance of this provision lies in the fact that the day labourer in Japan does not usually receive his daily wages directly from his employer, but in most cases from his "boss", the labour contractor (or *oya bun*), who generally deducts from the wage a commission varying from 10 to even 45 per cent. of

<sup>1</sup> Imperial Ordinance issued on 27 June 1925.



the amount due<sup>1</sup>. The pay-days in most establishments come only once or twice a month and the day labourer, who is unable to live without money during the long interval, seeks help from the middleman, who charges him a heavy commission. The Ordinance authorises the employment offices to draw money from municipal sources and advance it to day labourers, thereby freeing them from uneconomical dependence upon the "boss". The money paid out by employment exchanges throughout Japan in the form of advances amounts every month to considerable sums. An idea of the amount advanced in one month may be gained from the following table :

TABLE LXXXV. — DAY LABOURERS' WAGES ADVANCED  
BY PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES, JANUARY 1931<sup>1</sup>

Name of city	Number of exchanges reporting	Number of labourers to whom advances were made	Amount advanced
			Yen
Tokyo	6	178,196	294,012
Yokohama	1	101,572	166,789
Kobe	2	33,729	36,421
Nagoya	2	14,286	18,229
Shizuoka	1	1,802	1,573
Sapporo	1	8,538	8,458
Asahikawa	1	12,801	9,008
Kushiro	1	2,409	1,887
Total	15	353,333	536,377

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shokunqyō Shōkai Kōhō*, March 1931, p. 7

*Seamen's employment exchanges.* — Until 1922, when the Seamen's Employment Exchange Act was promulgated, there were no less than 270 private agencies conducted entirely for the purpose of making a profit out of finding engagements for maritime workers. They were for the most part seamen's lodging houses which had carried on this business for years and, although it was conducted under the supervision of the local authorities (since they had to obtain a licence from the prefectural Government), they were by no means free from the abuses of ordinary profit-making employment agencies. Beside these private agencies there was another fee-charging agency of a semi-public character known as the Japanese Seamen's Relief Society (*Nihon Kaikin Ekisai Kai*) which engaged in the work of placing the seamen, and which received a State subsidy. There was no really free employment exchange for seamen in Japan.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shakai Seisaku Jiho*, April 1930, pp. 11-15.

After the promulgation of the Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act, the Government continued to grant a subsidy to the Seamen's Relief Society on the ground that the Society was acting as "deputy" for the State in carrying out the work of employment exchanges. This gave rise to a representation in the terms of Article 409 of the Peace Treaty being made by the seamen's organisations, which held the said practice to be contrary to the spirit of the Convention which the Government had ratified<sup>1</sup>. Complaints were made first at the International Labour Conference in 1926 by the Japanese seamen's delegate, Mr. Itaro Narasaki, and finally a formal representation was made by the organised Japanese seamen to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office<sup>2</sup>. It was found unnecessary for the Governing Body to take the action on the representation which is provided for in Article 409, as the Japanese Government, in order to remove the grounds of complaint, gave instructions in September 1926 that a Joint Maritime Board should be formed of representatives of the Japan Shipowners' Association and of the Japan Seamen's Union and the Mercantile Marine Officers' Association. The Board was entrusted, among other duties laid upon it, with the task of carrying on the public employment exchanges for seamen in accordance with the provisions of the Convention.

Ever since the work of employment exchanges was handed over to this Board, the system has steadily gained ground. At present there are free employment offices in sixteen important ports of Japan where every month more than 2,000 seamen apply for work. Table LXXXVI shows the present extent of the work of seamen's employment exchanges.

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<sup>1</sup> Article 4 of the Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen reads in part as follows :

" Each Member which ratifies this Convention agrees that there shall be organised and maintained an efficient and adequate system of public employment offices for finding employment for seamen without charge. Such system may be organised and maintained, either : (1) by representative associations of shipowners and seamen jointly under the control of a central authority, or (2), in the absence of such joint action, by the State itself. "

<sup>2</sup> Article 409 of the Treaty of Versailles reads as follows :

" In the event of any representation being made to the International Labour Office by an industrial association of employers or of workers that any of the Members has failed to secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party, the Governing Body may communicate this representation to the Government against which it is made and may invite that Government to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit. "

TABLE LXXXVI. — WORK OF THE SEAMEN'S EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES,  
NOVEMBER 1930 TO OCTOBER 1931<sup>1</sup>

Month	Number of seamen demanded	Number of seamen seeking employment	Number of seamen placed
1930 November	1,149	6,436	1,131
December	1,083	6,580	1,068
1931 January	1,213	2,075	1,199
February	1,492	2,073	1,469
March	2,186	2,152	2,152
April	1,945	2,876	1,935
May	1,760	2,913	1,732
June	1,404	2,482	1,390
July	—	—	—
August	1,710	2,322	1,690
September	1,568	2,381	1,552
October	1,300	2,383	1,284

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shokuquyō Shūkai Kōhō*, Feb. 1931-Jan 1932

*Fee-charging employment agencies.* — An account has already been given<sup>1</sup> of the Regulations promulgated in 1925<sup>2</sup> for the control of fee-charging agencies. These Regulations came into force in January 1927, and the result of their operation has been that the number of such agencies declined from 8,679 in 1921 to 3,054 in 1931. The volume of their work has, however, remained fairly constant, as will be seen in table LXXXVII.

TABLE LXXXVII. — WORK OF FEE-CHARGING EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES,  
1921-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of workers wanted	Number of workers seeking work	Number of workers placed	Percentage of workers placed	Number of agencies on 31 December
1921	1,126,808	849,695	543,285	64	8,679
1922	1,187,267	889,563	566,729	64	5,625
1923	977,502	775,030	478,401	62	9,966
1924	1,037,741	908,381	539,421	59	10,097
1925	1,034,737	1,024,064	554,487	54	10,028
1926	1,203,076	1,096,663	624,884	57	9,712
1927	941,259	747,129	452,359	61	3,358
1928	972,400	713,971	464,439	65	3,413
1929	1,011,216	761,284	484,563	63	3,357
1930	961,785	791,188	474,468	59	3,206

<sup>1</sup> This table refers to the work of the fee-charging employment agencies for "general workers" on land only. During the past few years these agencies have also dealt each month with from 2,000 to 5,000 day labourers seeking work, and from 30 to 45 per cent. of them have been placed by the agencies. Some 200 to 300 maritime workers seek work each month at the fee-charging employment agencies and from 30 to 60 per cent. of them are placed. The monthly publication of the Central Employment Exchange Board gives more detailed figures regarding these workers

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part IV, Chapter I, pp. 164-165.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1925, Jap 1 (C)

## CHAPTER II

### MIGRATION

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#### *Development of Japanese Emigration*

It was shown in a previous chapter how the autarchic<sup>1</sup> policy of seclusion decreed by the Shogunate in 1637 led to the decline of seafaring and put an end to freedom of movement in and out of Japan. Although, in the latter days of the Shogunate exceptions were permitted in the case of individual Japanese subjects who wished to go abroad for the purpose of studying medicine, there was no emigration in the proper sense of the term until after the Restoration in 1868.

The first emigrants — 153 in all — left Japan in 1869 for the sugar plantations of Hawaii under a contract made by the Japanese Government with the Hawaiian authorities, and it has been characteristic of Japanese emigration ever since that it has depended rather on Government action than on individual initiative. It has been suggested that this lack of individual initiative is the result upon the mind of the people of having for "so many years been subject to the prohibitive policy of the feudal Government in the matter of emigration"<sup>2</sup>.

After the first Hawaiian experiment — which was not very successful as some forty of the emigrants, discouraged by the language difficulty and alien customs, returned home within a year — there was no further emigration until 1885. In this and subsequent years, as a result of treaties between Japan and Hawaii

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<sup>1</sup> The historical survey of Japanese emigration is based chiefly on information supplied by the Department of Overseas Affairs of the Japanese Government, in an article: "The Emigration, Colonisation and Overseas Activities of the Japanese within the Last Ten Years", in *Nihon Keizai no Saikin Jū Nen* (Last Ten Years of Japanese Economy), published by the National Federation for Economic Research, pp. 1513-1591.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SEISHI INEI: "Japan's Emigration Problem" in *International Labour Review*, Dec. 1930.

on navigation and emigration, a large number of persons, chiefly wage earners, went to the islands to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations under Government-controlled emigration schemes. Some 29,000 emigrants had been transferred to Hawaii in this way between 1885 and 1894, when the Government handed over both recruiting and placing of emigrants in the Hawaiian Islands to private companies.

In 1896, the Emigrants' Protection Act was enacted as a result of the increased interest in overseas activities, and a great many private emigration companies were formed. In 1898, however, Hawaii was annexed by the United States, and within two years the American law prohibiting the immigration of labourers under contract had come into force, checking the flow of immigration and causing the failure of many of the Japanese companies. A large number of Japanese emigrant labourers were sent by the companies to the Hawaiian Islands in 1899<sup>1</sup>, just in time to escape the operation of the prohibitory legislation, but after that year such companies as continued in being had to seek other outlets: the Philippines, Peru, Mexico, etc.

The refusal of the United States to admit contract labour to any territory under its jurisdiction stimulated free emigration, and from 1904 on Japanese emigrants flocked to North America in increasing numbers both from Japan itself and — attracted by the higher remuneration on the mainland — from the Japanese settlements in Hawaii. On the Pacific coast the number of Japanese settlers increased with great rapidity — from 5,000 in 1902 to 91,000 in 1910. The American coast population, however, soon came to regard this continued influx of Japanese workers with disfavour, and in 1907 President Roosevelt negotiated with Tokyo the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" whereby Japan bound herself to stop the emigration of workers to the United States by withholding passports<sup>2</sup>. Under this Agreement all Japanese immigration into the United States came to an end, with the exception of the re-entry of persons who had been previously domiciled in the United States and the entry of wives and children of Japanese already in the country.

The Agreement did not, however, allay the agitation, and

<sup>1</sup> In 1898, 10,000 emigrants went to Hawaii, 1,000 to Canada, 1,000 to Australia; in 1899, 23,000 to Hawaii, 3,000 to the United States, 1,700 to Canada, 790 to Peru, the first Japanese to go to South America.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. KIKYO SUE INUI: *The Unsolved Problem of the Pacific*, pp. 174-175.

measures were adopted denying to Japanese the right to own or lease land and imposing other restrictions. The effect of these measures was to cause the movement from the Hawaiian Islands to fall to a few thousands in 1908 and 1909 and thereafter to cease almost altogether. Finally, the United States passed the Immigration Act of 1924, which placed definite legal barriers, in place of the Gentlemen's Agreement, against the entry of Japanese labour into the territory of the United States.

From 1894 to 1907 Canada had attracted Japanese workers; in the first instance they went under a contract of employment, later as free immigrants. But the pressure of public opinion brought about restrictive legislation, and the Canadian Immigration Act of 1910, amended in 1924, empowers the Governor-General-in-Council either to prohibit or limit the landing of immigrants of a specified class or nationality, thus providing a means of closing Canadian ports to immigrants of any particular country<sup>1</sup>.

The Australian Federal Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 practically debars the Japanese worker from entering Australia, for the requirement that the immigrant should be able to write from dictation "a passage of fifty words in a prescribed language" can be applied in such a manner that the provision has as much prohibitive force in the case of an Asiatic as it had before the Australian Federal Government replaced the word "European" qualifying "language" by "prescribed" on the representations of the Japanese Government.

A definite policy of restriction of emigration to all countries was adopted by the Japanese Government after 1907. Local authorities only issued passports to emigrants possessing qualification for the particular work they proposed to take up and only after it had been ascertained from the receiving countries that the applicant would be welcome. The outflow of emigrants declined markedly in response to this policy; while previously the number of emigrants had averaged over 10,000 yearly, on one occasion reaching the maximum figure of 32,000, it fell to something like 4,000 in 1908 and 1909.

After 1907, Japanese emigration was directed mainly to South America, and in 1908 the first body of 800 emigrants went to

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<sup>1</sup> Under a Gentlemen's Agreement of the same date as that with the United States (1907) as modified in 1923, up to 150 Japanese citizens may be admitted in any one year

Brazil, the country which has since become the most important objective of Japanese emigration. The policy of restriction was continued, but after 1911 the numbers emigrating yearly increased until in 1913 they numbered over 20,000. A gradual but definite change took place in emigration policy, the tendency becoming to encourage rather than restrict.

The year 1915 was marked by the formation of societies for the promotion of emigration. These societies, which were called *Kaigai Kyokai* (overseas societies), were first organised in the prefectures of Hiroshima and Kumamoto, and were followed in 1918 by similar societies in other prefectures. In 1917, the private emigration companies, at the instigation of the Government, formed a company known as *Kaigai Kōgyō Kaisha* (Overseas Development Company), which now conducts a large part of the business of recruiting Japanese emigrants for Brazil and other countries.

The Government's policy had now definitely changed to one of encouraging emigration, and a State subsidy was given to the Overseas Development Company in 1921, to be devoted to the popularisation of emigration and to providing facilities for the education and protection of emigrants. The Government also paid the passage of over 100 emigrants to Brazil after the earthquake of 1923, and this led to the adoption of assisted emigration in 1924. Up to 1923 emigrants had been charged fees by the emigration companies but one of the conditions of the subventions granted to the companies was that they should make no charge for their services to emigrants. The new policy of the Government led to a considerable development of overseas societies and private companies, many of which bought large tracts of land in Brazil on which the emigrants are provided with employment.

In 1927 the Overseas Emigration Societies Act<sup>1</sup> was promulgated, the object being to assist the emigration of persons who possess a little capital which they can invest in land in the country of immigration. A number of new overseas emigration societies were formed in prefectural areas under this Act, and a federation of these societies was organised later in the year 1927. It was also in 1927 that the Government established at Kobe the National Emigrants' Station, where emigrants are lodged without cost to themselves for ten days before embarking for the purpose of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Legislative Series*, 1927, Jap. 1

medical examination, inoculations, some preliminary training, etc. Finally, an independent Ministry, the Department of Overseas Affairs, was created in 1929, as the central authority dealing with all matters concerning emigration and colonisation.

*Legislative and Other Measures for the  
Encouragement of Emigration*

The legal provisions dealing specifically with emigration are contained in two Acts : the Emigrants' Protection Act<sup>1</sup> of 1896 and the Overseas Emigration Societies Act of 1927.

The main object of the earlier legislation is to protect emigrants from exploitation by agencies. The law requires that the intending emigrant must obtain from the authorities a permit which expires six months from the date of issue and must name two persons who may be called upon to assist the emigrant if he is in distress or must be repatriated.

The business of emigration agents is subject to strict administrative control. A minimum security of 10,000 yen must be deposited with the authorities before the agent receives official sanction to engage in the business. The agent is held responsible during a period of ten years, reckoned from the date when the emigrant left Japan, for his repatriation. Emigrants may only be sent to places where the agent has a representative permanently stationed.

The emigrant ship, or any vessel transporting emigrants, is also under administrative control. Ships carrying at least fifty emigrants on board and bound for the countries specified by the authorities are subject to the application of the law as "emigrant ships" within the meaning of the Act<sup>2</sup>.

The Overseas Emigration Societies Act<sup>3</sup> was passed to remedy the disadvantages experienced in connection with the emigration of unskilled labourers without financial resources. The Act provides for the formation of societies of a co-operative character to aid their members, and the families of members, to emigrate. Each of these societies is a body corporate with legal personality, and is known as *Kaigai Ijū Kumiai* (Overseas Emigration Society). To ensure their co-operative character, the principal

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<sup>1</sup> *Imin Hogo Hō*, Act No. 70 of April 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Japan ratified the Convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship in 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Act No. 25 of March 1927 (cf. *Legislative Series*, 1927, Jap. 1).



provisions of the Co-operative Societies Act<sup>1</sup> are applied *mutatis mutandis* to overseas emigration societies, which enjoy the same privileges and immunities in law as co-operative societies and are subject to the same administrative control.

Shares in an overseas emigration society may not exceed fifty yen. The objects of such societies are (1) to advance the funds necessary for emigration to members; (2) to help members who emigrate by acquiring or leasing land, buildings, etc., and by ceding or leasing the same to members; (3) to set up and manage for the members schools, hospitals, warehouses, etc., in the country of immigration.

Since this Act came into effect, overseas emigration societies have been formed in eighteen prefectures, and there is a National Federation of these societies, with headquarters in Tokyo. The total number of members of these societies in 1931 reached nearly 10,000: in one prosperous society alone the membership exceeded 1,900. The country to which emigrants are sent by these societies is Brazil, and in 1931 they had acquired over 644,350 acres of land. The National Federation has established shops, warehouses and dwelling houses, a saw-mill, a brick factory and a hospital in Brazil. The building of new roads and bridges, survey of new and unexplored tracts of land, etc., is also undertaken by the National Federation.

Other measures for the encouragement of emigration include publicity, transport facilities and subsidies to private emigration companies.

Since 1923 the Government has yearly provided for "emigration publicity" in the Budget, and Japanese legations and consulates have been instructed to furnish information which will permit the Government to form an accurate estimate of the openings which different countries can offer the Japanese settler. The cinema is extensively used to supplement propaganda by pamphlets. Lecturers are sent out by the central Government to meetings organised in the prefectures; the number of lectures given in a year rose from 27 in 1923 to 267 in 1930.

The State assists emigrants by reducing their railway fare (third class) and the cost of the transport of their luggage by 50 per cent. Grants to defray the whole expense of the sea voyage, from the home port to the port of destination are made

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<sup>1</sup> For the details of the Co-operative Societies Act, cf. Part VI, Chapter III, pp. 351-352.

to families emigrating with their children<sup>1</sup>. By the end of 1930 the number of persons who had benefited by the State subsidy had attained 53,409 — the sum expended being 9,158,634 yen. At first only a few emigrants applied for the grant — in 1923 it was given to 110 persons — but in 1924 the figures ran into thousands, reaching close on 9,000 in 1927, and in 1929 there were 14,923 emigrants who received free passages<sup>2</sup>. The number fell to 8,292 in 1930<sup>3</sup>.

The bulk of the Japanese emigrant traffic is handled by *Kaigai Kōgyo Kaisha* (the Overseas Development Company). This company was launched in 1917, incorporating fifty-four other agencies already existing, with a capital of 9,000,000 yen. As time went on other small companies were absorbed and it is now virtually the sole emigration agency in Japan. Its headquarters are in Tokyo, but it has a shipping office in Kobe, a branch office in Brazil and has agents stationed at various points important for emigration in Japan, Australia and the South Sea Islands. Some forty agents of the company are occupied in emigration propaganda and in the recruitment of emigrants in the prefectures. By the end of 1930, over 96,000 emigrants had been carried in the ships of this company since it was founded; among the countries which have received emigrants travelling under its auspices are Brazil (72,984), the Philippines (14,024), Peru (2,993), Australia (1,220); small numbers were also sent to Cuba and other countries.

The company combines colonisation enterprise with its agency business, managing a settlement of 609 families (3,561 persons) connected with its plantation of 154,350 acres at Iguapé in Brazil; there is another settlement managed by this company in the State of Sao Paulo with some forty Japanese families working on a plantation of 3,000 acres. Schools, as well as the warehouses, saw-mills, etc., necessary for business purposes, have been established by the company in connection with both these colonies.

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<sup>1</sup> Under certain conditions married couples without children and single persons may receive the grant.

<sup>2</sup> If all other means of encouragement of emigration by the Government are reckoned, the State spent in seven years (1922-1929), over 12,000,000 yen excluding the subvention granted to the shipping companies.

<sup>3</sup> These figures have been taken from *Takumu Yōran*, 1931, pp. 560, 566.

Lately other colonisation companies have been founded in Japan ; their names suggest their activities ; the South American Colonisation Company, Amazon Development Company and the Japan-Argentine Colonisation Company. The first two came into being in 1928 and the third in 1929.

### *Extent of Emigration*

In spite of these measures the net balance of Japanese emigration remains very small. Table LXXXVIII shows the yearly number of emigrants leaving and returning to Japan every year during the last ten years. Until 1926, the number returning exceeded the number of new emigrants, and since 1926 the net increase of new emigrants over returning emigrants is a few thousands a year only.

Table LXXXIX shows the principal direction of emigration from 1925 to 1930.

The small extent of Japanese emigration becomes even more apparent when the total number of Japanese living abroad is considered. On 10 October 1930, this number was 634,913, distributed as follows : 194,129 in China (of whom 116,052 were in Kwantung alone), 127,605 in North America (99,600 in U.S.A., 20,838 in Canada), 142,276 in South America, 124,861 in Oceania (120,909 in Hawaii), 3,463 in Europe and 69 in Africa<sup>1</sup>. In the previous year, 1929, the net increase of the Japanese population was 837,501<sup>2</sup>. Thus, after sixty years of effort to increase emigration, the total number of Japanese living abroad is less than the annual natural increase of population.

Many reasons have been advanced to account for this situation : the sentimental disinclination of the Japanese to leave their own country<sup>3</sup>, the psychological effects of the long policy of seclusion, the small-holding system which binds the Japanese to their native soil, the climatic and economic hardships of emigration, the disappointing experiences of emigrants to Mexico and Peru, and the discouraging effect of the stoppage of emigration to North America<sup>4</sup> which was economically the most attrac-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nihon Tōkei Nenkan*, p. 65 (figures of the interim report of the National Census of 1930).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. INAZO NITOBE : " The Question of Food and Population in Japan ", in *World Outlook*, April 1927, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Professor TAKAOKA, of Hokkaido Imperial University, quoted by S. IMRI, *International Labour Review*, Dec. 1930.

tive objective of Japanese emigration. But whatever the causes of the relatively small volume of Japanese emigration may be, it is apparent from the figures given above that emigration is playing only a minor part in the solution of the population problem to which reference was made in Part I, Chapter I.

TABLE LXXXVIII. — NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS SAILING FROM  
AND RETURNING TO JAPAN, 1921-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of emigrants leaving Japan	Number of emigrants returning to Japan
1921	12,944	18,755
1922	12,879	14,912
1923	8,825	10,784
1924	13,098	15,579
1925	10,696	13,918
1926	16,184	14,549
1927	18,041	14,735
1928	19,850	15,004
1929	25,704	14,073
1930	21,829	15,432

<sup>1</sup> *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, 1931 edition, p. 63.

TABLE LXXXIX. — RECENT EMIGRATION CLASSIFIED BY  
COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION, 1925-1930<sup>1</sup>

Countries	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Brazil	4,908	8,599	9,625	12,002	15,597	13,741
Philippines (including Guam)	1,635	2,197	2,659	2,077	4,535	2,685
Peru	922	1,250	1,271	1,410	1,585	831
Canada	979	1,009	1,062	1,050	430	137
Siberia	108	531	896	870	884	1,513
United States	289	344	370	306	236	—
Hawaii	485	636	526	265	119	—
Straits Settlements and Malay States	437	402	475	420	513	835
Mexico	160	336	319	353	249	434
Argentina	121	182	262	387	430	489
Dutch East Indies	169	226	248	191	507	558
Australia	250	139	129	270	277	75
Cuba	127	117	45	37	29	37
Others	106	216	154	212	313	494
Total	10,696	16,184	18,041	19,850	25,704	21,829

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, 1926-1931. The figures include both the emigrants who are emigrating for the first time and those who are only returning to the countries to which they had previously emigrated, as well as the wives or children of emigrants. It should be understood that the emigrants to Canada consist largely of the latter category while those to Hawaii and the United States are entirely of that category.

At present the country outside Asia which absorbs the largest number of Japanese emigrants is Brazil. Emigration to Brazil, however, is carried out under great difficulties on account of the enormous distance, which involves at once considerable expense and an inevitable feeling of uncertainty. It is no easy task to overcome these material and psychological obstacles against oversea emigration, especially since the Japanese are essentially a "stay at home" people. As regards Manchuria, where there are over 200,000 Japanese already, similar difficulties are not encountered on account of its nearness to Japan. But whether or no that country will prove to be a suitable field for Japanese emigration cannot be judged as yet because of factors other than economic which must be taken into account.

### *Internal Migration and Colonial Settlement*

The results of internal migration and colonial settlement do not appear to be much more satisfactory than those of foreign emigration. Migration within the Japanese Empire dates from the early years of the Meiji era. The colonisation of the Islands of Hokkaido and Saghalien was encouraged, and privileges were accorded to intending colonists to induce them to settle in the islands. No systematic colonisation, however, was carried out before 1905. After the southern part of Saghalien was ceded to Japan at the close of the Russo-Japanese war, the Government of Japan actively assisted migration by granting free passages, the leasing of land without rent, granting subsidies for the purchase of agricultural implements, cattle, seed, etc., and making provision for the education and well-being of colonists. In 1923 it ceded standing timber to the settlers, and two years later increased the subvention for general facilities. From 1928 to the present time the colonial Government of Saghalien has made great efforts to attract migrants, especially by means of grants for housing. But these efforts have not succeeded; when emigration generally was at its maximum, in 1923 and 1924, the number of Japanese who went to Saghalien never reached 10,000 in a year and has steadily declined since then <sup>1</sup>.

#### <sup>1</sup> Migration to Saghalien :

1919 : 2,626 people	1924 . 9,218 people
1920 : 2,569 "	1925 . 7,760 "
1921 . 2,348 "	1926 . 7,227 "
1922 . 3,949 "	1927 . 4,751 "
1923 . 9,340 "	1928 . 3,829 "

Hokkaido is still relatively undeveloped and is sparsely populated. For the last twenty-five years the Japanese Government has taken measures<sup>1</sup> to stimulate popular interest in migration to the island, but with little success. Moreover, the tales of *Kangoku-Beya* (or prison cells)<sup>2</sup> a term used to describe the methods of contract labour in forests, railways and plantations in remote parts of Hokkaido have disposed Japanese workers to regard the recruiting agents with suspicion.

Japanese agricultural workers have gone to Korea only in small numbers. In 1928 the Government sought to encourage the colonisation of the undeveloped parts of the country by subventions and low-interest loans to settlers for purchase of land, irrigation, building, purchase of agricultural implements, etc., but so far only some hundred persons have taken advantage of the inducements offered. A private society *Tōyō Takushoku Kaisha* (Oriental Colonisation Company) had already sent nearly 4,000 farmers' families to Korea between 1910 and 1927, but this company's activities ceased after 1928 as Japanese migration to areas already developed was discontinued in view of the hardships to the Koreans which it involved.

Some 500,000 Japanese who have come from Japan proper are permanently resident in Korea, but they are chiefly merchants or officials living in cities; the native Korean population was 19,685,000 in 1930. The situation is stated to be much the same in Formosa where, out of 4,679,000 inhabitants, there are 232,000 who have come from Japan proper<sup>3</sup>.

The problem of internal migration within the Japanese Empire is complicated, from the Japanese point of view, by the increasing tendency of Koreans to enter Japan proper. In 1922, some years after Korea became Japanese, restrictions which formerly existed were abolished, but the stream of workers was so persistent that a form of control was called for and restrictive regulations were again applied in 1925. Nevertheless, a large number of Korean workers are still able to enter Japan, and it is estimated

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<sup>1</sup> Ordinance of the former Department of Overseas Affairs, No. 3 of 1897, and Notification of the Department of the Interior, No. 31 of 1927.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the International Labour Conference*, 1929, Twelfth Session, Vol. I, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> The population of Korea in 1930 was: Japanese, 501,867; Koreans, 19,685,587; foreigners, 69,109; total, 20,256,563. The population of Formosa was: Japanese, 232,299; Formosans, 4,313,922; aborigines, 86,154; foreigners, 46,671; total, 4,679,066. (Cf *Takumu-Shō Tōkei Gaiyō*, 1932, pp. 2-5.)



## PART VI

# WORKERS' WELFARE, EDUCATION AND CO-OPERATION

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### CHAPTER I

### WELFARE

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No attempt has been made, for the purposes of this chapter, to delimit "welfare" institutions and arrangements on the basis of a theoretical definition of "welfare" work. The welfare work here described comprises the arrangements and activities which are considered in Japan to belong to the category of "welfare", and the wideness of its scope is a characteristic of Japanese industrial organisation.

The importance attached to welfare work in Japan derives in the first place from the long tradition of paternalism, which, as has been shown in previous chapters, remains a powerful influence in Japanese industry. The feeling of kinship between employer and employed, which was so marked a feature of the early industries of Japan, has persisted through the period of development of large-scale modern industry more particularly in the form of a heightened sense of responsibility on the part of the employer for the well-being of the workers he employs. The result has been that welfare institutions and arrangements are considered to be an indispensable part of the organisation of every Japanese factory <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A full description of the welfare work in Japanese industry is found in *Saikin no Shakai Undō*, published by the *Kyōcho Kai*, pp. 909-940. In addition, another publication of the *Kyōcho Kai*, *Honpō Sangyo Fukuri Shisetsu Gaiyō* (Outline of Welfare Provisions in Japan) has been used. This is the report of an enquiry carried out in 1921 in respect of 171 factories and mines each employing normally at least 300 operatives.



The impulsion given by paternalistic sentiment was, however, strongly reinforced by the need for attracting and retaining industrial labour under the conditions of rapid development of industry, particularly during the years of the Great War. The methods adopted by employers varied from the granting of "bonuses" and "allowances", the institution of compulsory savings schemes known as "security funds", "trust funds", "reserve funds", etc., the provision of general and technical educational facilities in addition to those required by law, to the improvement of conditions in and around the factories, the organisation of spare time, and the establishment of welfare institutions on the basis of co-operation between employers and workers.

In the following pages welfare measures in and around the factory, in the form of bonuses, savings funds, etc., and welfare funds will be successively described.

#### *Welfare Measures in and around the Factory*

*Hygiene and food.* — Welfare measures taken in the factory are considered to comprise, in the first place, arrangements for safeguarding the health of the workers by the provision of light and air, of drinking water and washing facilities, and more particularly of rest and dining rooms.

Generally speaking, Japanese factories are built so as to secure as much natural *light* as possible. For this purpose the windows are large and elevated. In many cases they are roof windows, the roof itself being sometimes made of glass covered with protective netting. Some of the more up-to-date factories have stepped roofs with glass windows on the northern side so as to get the best light. Electric light has been installed in these modern factories on a system recommended by the Lighting Institute of Japan. In mines, electric lighting has been installed in the main shafts and adits, while carbide lamps or Wolf's safety lamps are used in the branch tunnels; in coal mines Edison head lamps are being increasingly used.

The chief means of *ventilation* in Japanese factories are shuttered or revolving windows, ventilating shafts, etc. The device of double roofing, either for the entire roof or on one side, is also used, and mechanical ventilators, air pumps, motor ventilators and fans are installed in machine shops, chemical works, etc., where special means of ventilation are required. In

cotton-spinning or silk-reeling and weaving mills, where the regulation of light, air, humidity and temperature is of primary importance as it affects the efficiency of the workers as well as the quality of the products, sirocco-fans are frequently installed to admit fresh air while exhaust fans on the ceiling eject the foul air. Sprinkling of water or vaporisers, supply of humid air, heating by means of coal, charcoal, steam, gas or electrical heaters and other methods are employed in the modern establishments.

Municipal *water* supply systems have become common in Japan but artesian wells are also considerably used. Sometimes the water drawn directly from the source is used after filtration, but occasionally the drinking of unboiled water is prohibited in order to prevent the spread of disease and in such cases boiled water is supplied. Drinking water is often provided for in the factory. In the hot weather, towels which have been dipped in hot water are supplied, and the bath room is often left open during a fixed hour so as to allow the workers to wash and refresh themselves.

*Wash basins* and *bathing facilities* are provided in almost all Japanese factories and mines. Rooms or closets for changing, and shelves, cupboards and lockers for keeping clothes are also provided. In textile mills employing a large number of women workers, a rest room is usually arranged in a corner of the workers' dormitory or of the infirmary belonging to the mill. Special arrangements are also made for nursing mothers. The baths are usually within the dormitory grounds in the case of the textile mills and other factories in which a large majority of the workers are housed in the dormitory; but where most of the workers live out, the baths are installed within the factory premises. Factories sometimes have a special arrangement with the public baths of the town in the neighbourhood of the factory or mine, and tickets are supplied to the workers by the employer. In the case of mines, the baths are ordinarily situated either at the entrance to the mine or in its vicinity or near the company houses. The use of the baths is usually free of charge, but if the bath is actually outside the mine, there may be a nominal charge not exceeding 1 sen per bath.

Modern *sanitary arrangements* are not yet common in Japanese factories, and it is only in the most advanced factories that water closets with flush-water systems have been installed.

In mines, latrines which can be treated chemically to prevent infection are sometimes provided ; but such latrines are not yet found in all mines, and even where they exist the changes in the habits of the miners have not kept pace with sanitary improvements.

A great deal of attention has been concentrated on *dining rooms* as a means of making life in the factories more attractive. Most factories have a common dining hall for the workers who live on the factory premises, while special dining rooms or rest rooms with benches are provided for workers who live out and who bring their mid-day meal to the factory. Occasionally the dining hall belonging to the dormitory can be transformed into a recreation or play-room or an auditorium, and some newly-built dining halls have space for a thousand people and can be used for meetings. The halls are clean and attractive with proper lighting and heating accommodation, pictures, hangings, wall paintings, flowers, etc.

The supply and preparation of *food* is usually arranged by the factory management, though occasionally it is left to a consumers' co-operative society or to a private contractor. The principal foodstuff is usually a mixture of rice and barley, the proportion being about 7:2. Recently, in order to combat beriberi, it has become more common to issue unpolished rice of various qualities, and in some factories a special table is set aside in the dining hall where unhulled rice is served instead of the ordinary polished rice and its consumption is encouraged by preparing it in a particularly palatable way. The cost of a meal varies between 7 sen and 15 sen<sup>1</sup>. When the food is provided by the management, the latter bears a part of the cost ; but where the food is provided by contract, the contractor usually includes the expenses of the materials, fuel, and overhead charges in the cost of the meal and the management provides water, the hall, etc., free.

Special attention has recently been given to diet by some of the more progressive factories. Thus, a cotton-spinning company has appointed a meals committee to prepare menus to suit the special requirements of each season. The personnel management of the factory examines and criticises the menu, with the aid of a special service of experts in nutrition. At a silk-reeling mill also, a meals committee was appointed in 1928. This committee

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Saikin no Shakai Undo*, p. 921.

ascertains the workers' tastes, and recommends special menus which will be appreciated by the majority. Sweets, fruits, cake and the like are served twice a month and the habit of eating between meals is discouraged.

In the dining halls attached to some dormitories, articles for table use, such as rice bowls, plates and other vessels, which can be cleaned by steam or by boiling, are provided. At most dining rooms, either mats or benches are provided so that the workers need not stand while eating. In silk-reeling mills, which have depended but little on modern machinery hitherto, it used to be the custom, in order to reduce the time spent in eating meals to the minimum, to cause the workers to take their meals standing ; but this policy is now being abandoned.

*The dormitory system.* — The system of housing workers in dormitories within the factory gates and under more or less strict discipline is well-known to be a characteristic feature of Japanese industry. Originally, the system arose out of the need, in face of the rapid development of mechanical industry and the exhaustion of the supply of labour in the vicinity of the factories, of recruiting workers from distant provinces and of providing them with living accommodation. Further reasons for the system were to protect the young women operatives against moral dangers and also the employer against "crimping" or the "pirating" by other employers of labour recruited at considerable cost.

Very divergent views are held regarding the desirability of this system. On the one hand, and particularly in view of the conditions of recruitment<sup>1</sup>, it is held to be unduly restrictive of the liberty of the person. On the other hand, the supporters of the system contend that it confers considerable economic advantages on the workers, in addition to affording moral protection and security, especially in the case of young and unmarried women. Moreover, it is held that the efforts made by some employers to make dormitory life agreeable and helpful to the inmates have been highly successful<sup>2</sup>.

A number of descriptions of conditions in the dormitories have been published, but unfortunately the official reports are

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part IV, Chapter I : "Recruitment, Employment and Discharge of Workers".

<sup>2</sup> Committees, popularly elected, exist to bring about improvements. and boxes are provided for the workers to make suggestions.

not very recent<sup>1</sup>, while the accounts of private observers are in some cases vitiated by superficiality or pre-conceived ideas, or were written too long ago to give a picture of the present situation. However, a particularly detailed and objective account of the dormitories was published in 1929 by Mr. Arno S. Pearse of the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation of Great Britain<sup>2</sup>, and may be considered to be a fair presentation of existing conditions.

This writer visited the dormitories of a number of the larger mills and formed the opinion that, "in all the big combines, the girls are better housed and fed than they would be at home"<sup>3</sup>. He states that while smaller undertakings may not be able to spend so much on the equipment and maintenance of the dormitories as the larger firms, the opinions of other observers show that "there is very little difference between these institutions of the large and small mills. One small mill where 100 operatives were employed was visited by the writer and the only difference he found was that the tidiness was not so marked as in the larger places".

Mr. Pearse gives the following description of the construction of the dormitories and the accommodation provided :

"The houses built for the operatives (80 per cent. are single girls) are really barracks of two storeys, entirely of wood, as is the custom in Japan of all private dwelling-houses of rich or poor. It has been found by experience that such construction withstands best the earthquake shocks, which occur frequently. The writer has to criticise the use of wood in the building of these huge barracks, where at times 3,000 girls are housed, on account of the grave danger by fire. It is to be hoped that new dormitories will be erected on the very recently discovered earthquake-proof system of building.

"The dormitories are constructed in sections to contain about 300 girls; rooms to hold eight to ten girls are in each building. Each

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS : *Kōjō ni okeru Kishukusha no Genkyō ni Kansuru Chōsa* (Inquiry into actual conditions in dormitories attached to factories), 1926 ; and *The Kanegafuchi Spinning Company Ltd.: Its Constitution, How it cares for its Employees and Workers*, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> ARNO S. PEARSE : *Cotton Industry in Japan and China*, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> The following quotation may be given as summarising Mr. Pearse's general conclusions. "The life of the girl mill operatives may be said to be a period of disciplinary training, not unlike the years of military service of the men, for besides being taught regular manual work the girls attend the mill school, where such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, designing, cooking, sewing, domestic management are taught, and physical drill is not left out of consideration. The writer doubts whether many girls in expensive boarding schools in Europe (*pensionnat*) are better cared for or have more freedom than the girls of the big mills visited. The competition of getting a sufficient supply of girls is alone a guarantee for their good treatment, and there has developed amongst the mill owners a very praiseworthy race in endeavouring to outdo the other as regards welfare work".

room has a space of 15 " mats " <sup>1</sup>. The floor is covered by mats made of neatly woven straw. For the sake of cleanliness and in order not to damage the mats nobody, not even the managing director, is allowed to walk on them in boots, and the girls must take their wooden slippers off before they enter even the corridor.

" In Osaka, the city regulations prescribe that 1½ mat space must be allowed for each girl, but in practice they have much more. When wages were low in Japan the mill owners employed more operatives than now per machine, and consequently, owing to recent rationalisation of the industry, there is more room left for the girls than was originally planned. "

In accordance with Japanese custom, the girls do not sleep in bedsteads but on cushions on the floor, which are tidily put away when not in use. Each girl has her own cupboard for the cushions and her own clothing. Whilst the girls are in the mill they wear a special uniform, different in summer and winter ; everyone wears a cap. The female overseers wear a sash over the uniform. Each room in the dormitories is provided with the usual alcove, the most distinguished place in every Japanese room, in which will be found a little altar, books and writing materials. As is the custom there will hang a Japanese scroll-picture, or the portraits of the Emperor and Empress.

" Fresh flower decorations are placed in every room. Scrupulous cleanliness and tidiness reign supreme in the dormitories. The interior of the rooms is simplicity itself, just as in all Japanese houses, which creates a distinguished impression. Every morning and night the girls scrub the floors, not only of the rooms, but also of the seemingly endless corridors. (This scrubbing of floors is a national custom in most houses.) For this purpose the girls kneel down in a line and scrub with their hands, moving forward in a line, singing all the time.

" The Japanese as a nation enjoy the reputation of being very clean in their houses and in themselves, and daily baths are quite a regular habit amongst all the operatives. Ample bath accommodation is provided by the mills. Day and night shift staff occupy different dormitories; the rooms are well ventilated. A strip of garden is generally in front of each house.

" Discipline and order are, of course, essential when one has to deal with thousands of young girls, and this means some restraint of liberty, which most will agree is a good thing for the girls at that age; but this limitation of freedom is no great hardship to the women of the East, for here they do not enjoy as many privileges as in the West."

To the advantages of the dormitory system which have been described in these quotations from Mr. Pearse's report may be added the facilities afforded by the system for welfare work of a

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<sup>1</sup> Mat (*tatami* in Japanese) is 2 × 1 yard.

cultural, recreational and hygienic character. When the operatives live in their own houses, scattered about in a wide area, it is obvious that these forms of welfare work cannot be so easily organised as in the case of workers who dwell together in dormitories. The giving of supplementary education or vocational training in classes, the organising of athletics, the care of children of operatives—these and a large number of other welfare activities have come to be characteristic features of life in the dormitories. Moreover, the safety and hygiene of the dormitory houses have been greatly improved by the enforcement of the Regulations concerning the dormitories attached to factories<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, however, as was noted at the beginning of this section, serious criticisms have been directed against the dormitory system, particularly on the ground of the restriction of personal freedom involved in the present methods of its administration. Trade unions, more especially, have objected to a system which, by confining the operative within mill premises usually surrounded by a high wooden fence, makes communication difficult with the inmates of the dormitories, especially in case of labour disputes. Quite apart from either the native shyness or the unwillingness of the young women workers to join trade unions, the practice of the employers of allowing them to leave the mill premises only two or four times a month is alleged to be a great obstacle in the way of the spread of trade unionism.

The case against the dormitories has been stated by another foreign observer in a critical study of "Japan's cheap labour". This writer declares :

" The dormitory system has tremendous advantages for the manufacturer. By this means he is certain of his labour force from day to day; absenteeism and lateness are under check. It permits him practically to double his capital by operating the machinery night and day. The leisure as well as the working hours of the employees are under his control. . . .

" But the dormitory system is also a two-edged weapon. It is a breeder of discontent and labour turnover. It smacks of being a prison. The workers chafe under their restricted freedom; they rebel against the institutional food. Every labour union in the country has marked the dormitory system for attack. Every strike is characterised by complaints about the restriction of freedom and the poor quality of food<sup>2</sup>. "

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part IV, Chapter V, " Health and Safety of Workers ".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DOROTHY J. ORCHARD : " An Analysis of Japan's Cheap Labour ". *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XLIV. No. 2, June 1929, p. 232.

This is not the place to attempt to weigh the pros and cons of the dormitory system. Enough has been said to show that it has many advantages, particularly from the point of view of welfare work, but it appears equally true that, in its present form, it involves considerable loss of personal freedom.

Finally, it may be mentioned that, in addition to the dormitories which accommodate a large number of operatives, many factories provide houses for married employees and salaried staff. These houses are known as *Sha-taku* (company houses) and may be free or rented at a nominal charge. The charges, if collected, include the cost of electricity, gas, water, etc. As a rule, these houses are built of wood, mostly of one storey, with two to three rooms besides the kitchen, the size of the rooms varying from 9 feet  $\times$  6 feet to 12 feet  $\times$  9 feet. Very often these houses have a small yard in front. Certain companies give facilities to the occupants of the houses to buy them by payments in easy instalments<sup>1</sup>.

*Medical treatment.* — Most large factories and mines in Japan have their own hospitals, with a staff of physicians, pharmacists, nurses, midwives, etc. These hospitals are often extremely well-equipped, with special wards for bacteriological examination, X-ray treatment, operations, dentistry, etc. In smaller undertakings private practitioners are commissioned to attend at the factory or mine at regular hours, but this system is reported to be disappearing in many places since the Health Insurance Act came into force and the organisation of medical treatment by the Government and health insurance societies. Most cases of sickness and injury are treated in accordance with the provisions of the Health Insurance Act, and the members of the workers' families, who do not come under the Health Insurance Act, receive treatment at very reduced rates. Drugs prescribed by doctors do not cost more than 5 sen or 10 sen per day, while hospital charges for in-patients range from 60 sen to 1.50 yen per day. In some cases both drugs and hospital treatment are given free of charge or at half price. Some companies have their own sanatoria and farms for the supply of milk and other produce.

Workers are usually medically examined when engaged, and in most factories and mines there are periodical medical exami-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. KYŌCHO KAI · *Honpō Sangyo Fukuri Shisetsu Gaiyō*, pp. 141-146.



nations either once or twice a year. It is considered probable that this practice will be generalised now that the Regulations concerning dormitories attached to factories issued in 1927 require that inmates should be medically examined.

*Education and recreation.* — Detailed reference has been made elsewhere in this study<sup>1</sup> to the facilities provided for general and vocational education, either in compliance with the law or on the initiative of employers, workers or private organisations. In a variety of other ways, however, employers in Japan promote education both for the workers they employ and for their families. Thus in the larger factories are found day nurseries, kindergarten, etc., in charge of trained nurses or other qualified women. Elementary education is sometimes provided in factory schools for workers' children, as well as for child workers as required by the Factory Act. Again, some factory or mine managements undertake the necessary arrangements for sending the workers' children to the public schools; they encourage school attendance by providing transport facilities, give prizes or scholarships, intervene for the re-arrangement of school hours to suit the convenience of the parents, organise parents' meetings, give or lend school equipment, etc.

In addition to vocational training, factory managements frequently organise classes for women in sewing, knitting, cooking, nursing, etc., and in such social accomplishments as flower arrangement, music and the tea ceremony. Lectures, study groups, reading circles, circulating libraries, factory newspapers or magazines play a part in the life of many Japanese factories.

Certain fixed days in each month are set apart as festival days dedicated to some shrine or temple of either the Buddhist or Shintoist religion, erected in the premises of the factory or mine or in the vicinity. Sometimes ceremonies are performed to appease the departed spirits of operatives killed by industrial accidents or to celebrate the festival days of the deities held to be patrons of the factory or mine. Such fête days are usually made holidays for rest and recreation.

A great deal of attention is given to theatrical and other entertainments. Sports, such as football, baseball and tennis are encouraged, and inter-factory matches and athletic meetings are arranged. Other forms of recreation include walking parties and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part IV, Chapter I, and Part VI, Chapter II.

mountain climbing, cherry-blossom or maple-leaf picnics, mushroom gathering, etc., and are organised by the management of factories as annual events. Interest in fencing, wrestling archery, *jiu-jitsu* and other recreations which have come down from feudal days is also still very keen.

*Company shops.* — The system of "company shops", which has been gradually abandoned in other industrial countries, is still prevalent in Japan. General merchandise such as food-stuffs, dry goods, articles for the toilet and other daily necessities are usually sold at these shops to the workers at cost price whether they live in or outside the dormitory belonging to the company; in consequence the workers are able to obtain their daily necessities at about 20 per cent. less than the market prices. In large companies, articles necessary for work, such as aprons, caps, stockings, scissors, overalls, etc., are often sold at much less than cost price. In spite of the development of workers' co-operative societies in recent years, the company shops are still the principal channel of supply of daily necessities to workers. In certain cases the employer allows a local merchant to undertake the sale on behalf of the company, but these instances are rare.

### *Bonuses and Savings*

Bonuses and allowances have been dealt with as supplementary forms of wages in the chapter on that subject, and if they are referred to here it is because employers regard them as goodwill payments, although they have in fact become both morally and economically an obligation on employers. The voluntary character of the payments still remains marked in the variations in amount — variations which are found to exist not only between one industry and another, but also within the same industry.

The usual forms of bonus are those given for long service<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following are examples of the method of calculating the long service bonus: A spinning company in Osaka granted a bonus when a man had worked for five years or a woman for three years; the sum granted was the equivalent of eight days' wages for each period of six months, even if during this period there had been as many as thirty days' absence from work. In another spinning company, at Kurashiki, the rule was to grant a sum equivalent from 7 per cent. to 9 per cent. of the yearly earnings of the worker if the worker had been two years in service as a dormitory inmate. The same amount would be granted if a man had been in the service of the company for five or a woman for three years, not living in the dormitory. The practice of the Department of Railways is to give 1 yen for each month of the period worked after

and annually<sup>1</sup>. Other forms of bonus are those for regular attendance<sup>2</sup> or suggestions for technical or other improvements.

For many years the Japanese Government has made systematic efforts to encourage saving, and the movement has been taken up in factories and mines<sup>3</sup>, though a traditional prejudice against saving up money earned had to be overcome. Savings systems may be either compulsory or optional. Enforcement of compulsory saving by the rules either of employment or of unions or societies to which the worker belongs is common, and the money saved, if deposited with the factory management, may be paid into the working capital<sup>4</sup> of the company or deposited with

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five years of service, 2 yen for each month after ten years and 3 yen after fifteen years. A large number of cotton-spinning companies encourage long service by special gifts upon the completion of a contract of work. In a mine annual or periodic increments in conjunction with small gifts were paid on wages after twenty-five and seventeen years of service in the case of surface and underground workers respectively.

<sup>1</sup> The sums of money granted as annual bonus vary greatly according to business conditions and various other considerations, the sums given to clerical staff and other salaried employees range between 10 and 50 per cent. of the annual salary, whereas the bonus for factory operatives, miners, etc., is usually of a smaller amount. Very often presents either in cash or goods are given also in the summer, but such semi-annual bonus is, as a rule, much less in amount than the bonus granted at the end of the year.

<sup>2</sup> To workers who have worked diligently and have not been absent nor arrived late nor have left early for a fixed period of a week, a month, six months or a year, prizes may take the form of a medal or of money or both. Those who have shown diligence for several such periods may be given other special prizes. A hemp mill in Osaka gave an equivalent of the wages of a day and a half for one month's diligence and an additional grant of 1 yen for the diligence record of six months, 2 yen for twelve months, etc. At one of the shipbuilding yards in Kobe the equivalent of two days' wages was granted for one month's diligence. If the diligence records are repeated ten times, the worker receives an additional amount of 10 yen. At a paper mill near Tokyo the prizes begin with the equivalent of three days' wages for three months' diligence record and adding one day's wages for each additional monthly record. Another firm gave 10 yen for six months' diligence record and 3 yen if absence occurred less than three days within a six-month period. These examples are taken from the larger firms but on the whole, the diligence record is used rather as the basis of calculation for the grant of long-service bonus than for immediate recompense.

<sup>3</sup> Recent figures show that savings amounting to over 61,000,000 yen were made by 790,000 factory workers.

<sup>4</sup> A large number of silk filatures having failed to pay wages which had been retained in the custody of the employer as savings, the competent authorities in the Nagano Prefecture adopted a new system requiring employers who wish to retain workers' wages as savings to produce at least three sureties jointly liable to the extent of 200 yen per worker. As this system proved satisfactory, the Factory Inspectors' Conference of April 1930 decided to recommend other prefectural authorities to introduce it. Another recommendation of the same conference was designed to prevent abuses in cases where employers deposit the workers' savings in

a bank or with the Post Office under the Post Office savings scheme. Compulsory savings schemes are most common in textile mills and mines, and generally where workers are bound by a long contract and live together; in trades which are on shorter or more indefinite terms of employment, the savings systems, if they exist, are generally optional.

Compulsory savings are usually deducted from wages and placed to the worker's account either as genuine savings or sometimes under the name of "personal guarantees"<sup>1</sup>. If the worker is paid on a day-wage basis, the deduction in most cases is one day's wage per month; less frequently the amount is from two to five days' wages. In the case of monthly salaries, the savings range between 5 and 10 per cent. of salary; exceptionally low savings are from 2 to 4 per cent. and high savings from 15 to 30 per cent. Differences are made between men and women, between workers living in dormitories and outside, and between varying kinds of work.

Optional savings vary greatly both in amount and in kind. When the saving scheme is managed by private societies formed by workers, the amounts saved generally range between 5 and 20 per cent. of the monthly wages. Members of such societies sometimes take a voluntary engagement not to withdraw any of the savings until they marry, buy land, build or repair their houses, or are in urgent need of money owing to illness, etc. In most cases, voluntary savings are deposited at the Post Office. The employer, in these cases, usually gives facilities for the saving scheme by, for example, asking the authorities to set up a special post office within the factory premises.

Various devices are adopted to stimulate interest in savings: lectures, pay roll envelopes with mottoes printed in colours, payment by the management (if the savings are deposited with them) of interest at rates higher than the current rates<sup>2</sup>, etc. A characteristic institution is that of "Prayer-savings" (*Nenbutsu Chokin*), introduced by a Buddhist priest: the workers who have

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post offices or banks in their own names and use the money in their businesses. The conference decided to urge employers to arrange for representatives of post offices or banks to come to the factories and receive the money directly from the workers, leaving only the deposit books in the care of the employers. *Industrial and Labour Information*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 9, p. 295.

<sup>1</sup> *Mimoto Hoshō Kin*.

<sup>2</sup> The rate may be as high as 1 sen per yen per month.

adopted this practice say a prayer every morning to Buddha, turning towards the province where their parents dwell, and then place a small coin in a little bag inscribed with a Buddhist prayer.

TABLE XC. — SAVINGS OF FACTORY WORKERS, 1 OCTOBER 1930<sup>1</sup>

Kinds of factories	Number of factories	Number of workers	Postal savings	Savings in bank	Savings in factories	Saved elsewhere	Total savings
			Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
Textile	2,225	462,316	1,157,225	1,318,764	26,584,343	135,853	29,196,185
Machine and tools	612	72,060	564,537	1,416,627	10,856,691	48,290	12,886,145
Chemical	532	61,852	1,161,827	310,872	5,631,347	83,323	7,187,374
Food and drink	302	12,580	221,286	162,110	2,957,741	52,545	3,393,682
Electricity, gas, smelting	952	10,623	220,427	61,759	1,693,756	16,516	1,992,458
Miscellaneous	586	19,671	265,069	232,226	932,414	6,040	1,435,749
Total of private factories	5,209	639,102	3,590,371	3,502,358	48,656,292	342,572	56,091,593
State factories	370	69,610	2,610,974	325,649	6,512,280	3,879	9,452,782
Grand total	5,579	708,712	6,201,345	3,828,007	55,168,572	346,451	65,544,375

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, December 1930, p. 7.

The above table shows that as much as 83 per cent. of the money saved by Japanese factory workers is kept by the managements. The money deposited being as a rule used as working capital by the companies concerned, the authorities have recognised the risk of failure to repay savings in case of bankruptcy and have now adopted the policy of giving permission to employers to retain savings on deposit only when security has been deposited with the authorities or when proof has been furnished that the concerns are sound financially<sup>1</sup>.

Arrangements for making loans to workers exist in many undertakings, the loans being granted either by the employer or by the unions or societies to which the workers belong. Loans made by employers often bear no interest, but the maximum amount of loan is sometimes limited to 50 yen, to be paid back each month by deductions from wages. Sometimes the worker

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kōjō Kantoku Nenpō* for 1927, pp. 72-74. For example, the prefecture of Gifu grants permission only to companies with a capital of 10,000,000 yen or more. Companies with less capital must deposit the money in banks or at the post office.

must agree to pay back as much as 20 per cent. of his wages each month, but if he has been in the same employment for many years the period of repayment may be from five to seven months. Employers occasionally agree to repayment in the middle or at the end of the year when the workers receive the semi-annual or annual bonus.

### *Welfare Funds and Societies*

During the last decade there has been a tendency to place welfare institutions on a more permanent and organised basis, and instead of being left to the initiative and management of the employer, they are becoming more and more joint undertakings or are even due solely to the initiative of the workers.

The first developments in this direction were the setting up of *welfare funds* whose accounts are kept wholly independent of the general budgets of the undertakings concerned. These funds have been created either by setting aside a part of the profits on each settlement day, or by endowments.

The following table gives some examples of the welfare funds set up by representative Japanese firms.

TABLE XCI. — WELFARE FUNDS IN REPRESENTATIVE FIRMS, 1930<sup>1</sup>

Name of firm	Kind of welfare fund	Note
Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Co.	1. Workers' Welfare Fund.	Created in 1920 by the Company.
	2. Sickness, Injury, Old Age, Retirement and Pension Fund.	—
	3. Workers' Hygiene Fund.	—
	4. Workers' Relief Fund.	—
	5. Children's Education and Scholarship Fund.	—
	6. Faithful Service, Proficiency and Inventions Encouragement Fund.	Endowed by the late Mr. Nakagamikawa, ex-manager of the Company.
	7. Workers' Sanatorium Fund.	Created in memory of the late Mr. Asabuki, ex-director of the Company.
	8. Inventions Encouragement Fund.	Granted by the Hibiya family.

<sup>1</sup> It has not been possible to ascertain in time for publication the actual amounts of money appropriated for the funds shown in this list, which is taken from *Saikin no Shakai Undō*, p. 911.

TABLE XCI. — *continued*

Name of firm	Kind of welfare fund	Note
Fuji Cotton Spinning Co.	1. Workers' Pension Fund.	Created by the Company.
	2. Hygiene, Education and Relief Funds.	—
	3. Research Fund.	Endowed by the late Mr. Wada, President of the Company.
	4. Surviving Family Relief Fund.	Endowed by Mr. Hibiya, Ex-Director.
	5. Workers' Scholarship Fund.	Endowed by Mr. Kawasaki, former Director.
	6. Funeral Fund.	Endowed by Mr. Fujii.
Kurashiki Cotton Spinning Co.	Workers Scholarship Fund.	Endowed by Mr. Ohara, President of the Company in 1914.
Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Yards.	Welfare Fund.	Created in 1913 by the Company.
Tokyo Electric Co.	Old Age, Retirement and Relief Funds.	Created in 1927.
Wōji Paper Manufacturing Co.	Retirement Allowance Fund.	Created in 1912.
Asano Cement Co.	Workers' Relief Fund.	—
Onoda Cement Co.	Retirement Allowance Fund.	—
	Inventions and Proficiency Encouragement Fund.	Endowed by Mr. Fukuhara, former President of the Company in 1923.
Asahi Glass Manufacturing Co.	Workers' Pension Fund.	—
Japan Porcelain Co.	Workers' Protection Fund.	—
Mitsubishi Mining Co.	Welfare Fund.	Created in 1918.
	Workers' Retirement Allowance Fund.	—
Mitsui Mining Co.	Miners' Relief Fund.	Created in 1917.
Hokkaidō Mining and Steamship Co.	Retirement Allowance Fund.	Created in 1928.
Japan Petroleum Co.	Retirement Allowance Fund.	Created in 1928.
Kuhara Mining Co.	Workers' Welfare Fund.	Endowed by Mr. Kuhara, former President, upon his retirement in 1928.

More characteristic of the new trend of welfare institutions are the *workers' welfare societies*. The object of a workers' welfare society is to act as *liaison* between the employer and the workers in contributing to the growth of the business, besides

promoting mutual aid among the workers, their cultural development and general welfare. The first of such societies was set up in 1917 as an autonomous organisation based on the principle of co-operation under the name of the *Shin Ai Kai* (Cordial Friendship Society), at the Sumitomo Copper Works in Osaka. In the years between 1919 and 1923 a great many similar societies were set up, some including the staff members of the firm, while others consisted solely of workers' representatives. The number of these societies increased after 1927, when many of the former mutual-aid societies were disbanded as the result of the enforcement of the Health Insurance Act, the funds of the dissolved societies being handed over to the welfare societies. A relatively large number of these societies are found in mines; other industries in which they have become popular are cotton spinning and silk reeling, machine and tool shops and the food and drink trades<sup>1</sup>.

In addition to the general objects mentioned above, these societies include in their professed aims such items as the promotion of good relations between their members, improvement of health, education, encouragement of frugal habits and saving, mutual aid, common amusements and recreation, planning and carrying out or participation in the carrying out of these and other welfare works.

Their funds are usually constituted by contributions from the management or by moneys handed over to them when the old mutual-aid societies went out of existence; in amount the funds vary from 160,000 yen to 300,000 yen, the interest accruing from the capital being used to meet running expenses. In other cases, the funds are made up of the contributions of the members, the amounts varying from 5 sen to 20 sen per month, and of subsidies by the management to an amount which is often almost equal to the total contributions of the members.

In most cases, the chairman of the society is either the president or the managing director of the employing company, or

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<sup>1</sup> Among the names adopted are *Shin Yū Kai* (or Intimate Friends' Society), *Shin Ai Kai* (Cordial Friendship Society), *On Kō Kai* (Warm Friendship Society), *Kwo Yū Kai* (Mining Friends' Society), *Shō Yū Kai* (Respectable Friends' Society), *Kyo Ai Kumiai* (Union of Mutual Love), etc., which indicate that they stand for friendship; or else they are called *Dō Wa Kai* (Common Unity Society), *Isshin Kai* (One Mind Society), *Shin Wa Kai* (True Unity Society), etc., denoting that they are founded on mutual help and co-operation.



the workshop manager, while the vice-chairman or vice-chairmen may be appointed by the chairman or be elected by the board of councillors from amongst themselves. The executive body is called committee, delegates' meeting, board of councillors, etc. In most cases half of the members are nominated by the chairman, the other half being elected from among the members. Half of the executive secretaries of the society are usually appointed by the chairman, the other half being elected from among the delegates or councillors. In some cases all the officers are elected by the members.

Generally speaking, the work of the welfare societies is divided into sections dealing with mutual aid, education, sports, health and hygiene, recreation, co-operative shop, etc. There are sometimes special sections to ensure the attendance at school of children of school age, to grant scholarships, to visit homes, make loans, and to give advice to members on legal, medical and other technical matters, etc. In some cases the society extends its activities to such matters as the improvement of the standard of living. When there is a common meeting hall or club house belonging to the factory or mine, its management is often in the hands of the society so as to facilitate the arrangement of cultural, recreational or other activities.

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## CHAPTER II

### WORKERS' EDUCATION

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In Japan the term "workers' education" is employed in a broad and comprehensive sense, covering all forms of education that touch working men and women, and including those which seek to "emancipate the working class" as well as those that endeavour to give a general supplementary education on social, industrial or cultural subjects. This difference in fundamental conception accounts for the existence of a variety of institutions for workers' education in Japan<sup>1</sup>.

Among the various types of institutions, there are firstly those conducted either by the Government or semi-public bodies as a part of the general programme of vocational, civic or social education. Secondly, there are the institutions organised by employers in factories, mines, etc., as a part of welfare work. Thirdly, there are labour colleges or schools conducted either by public-spirited persons in the interest of the workers, or by trade unions for the education of their own members.

While, however, the general system of education has attained a high degree of development, special institutions for workers' education have only begun to develop in recent years as the realisation spread that all needs were not met by the State system.

In these circumstances some account of the general system of education in Japan seems to be called for here to provide a background for the understanding of the developments in workers' education which have taken place within the last ten years or so.

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is chiefly based on the information given in *Saikin no Shakai Undo* (Part I, Chapter XIX, pp. 941-966), published by the *Kyocho Kai*, Tokyo, 1929.

*General Education*

The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1872 ordered the establishment of compulsory education in Japan, and a State school system was prepared on the model of the French educational system. The scheme provided for the division of Japan into eight districts, each of which was to have one university, 32 middle schools and 6,720 primary schools.

It was subsequently found necessary to modify this scheme, but it provided a basis for future development.

Elementary education was instituted by the Primary School Ordinance<sup>1</sup> issued in 1900. This Ordinance requires all Japanese children in normal physical and mental health to attend school during the period of school age, which is defined as the period from six to fourteen years of age<sup>2</sup>. Attendance at the ordinary elementary school is compulsory, the courses extending over a period of six years, after which children may, at the option of their parents, attend the higher elementary school, where the courses extend over a period of either two or three years. Besides ordinary subjects of study, the curriculum in the higher elementary schools in urban districts often includes English<sup>3</sup>. In principle, elementary education is free, but where local circumstances justify it fees may be charged for some branches of tuition by special permission of the authorities. The present development of primary education is shown in table XCII (A).

There has been a big demand for higher education in Japan since the early days of the Meiji era, when the few universities in existence opened the door to the best posts in Government service and to good business positions. This demand has led to the development of higher education to an extent which, in the opinion of some observers, exceeds the capacity of the country to provide employment for educated men. In fact, a serious social problem has arisen from the lack of opportunities for men who have had university or high school education and are without means of livelihood. In spite of this situation, boys are still

<sup>1</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 34 of 1900.

<sup>2</sup> In practice, children remain at school until they have completed the ordinary elementary course of six years, so that if a child goes to school at the age of six years, he can normally leave school at the age of twelve. For some years the proposal to extend the period of compulsory primary school education has been discussed, but no decision has yet been taken.

<sup>3</sup> Uniformity of instruction is secured by the compilation of the textbooks by the State Department of Education.

being sent to secondary schools, with the prospect of going later to a university, in preference to going at once to schools giving technical or business training with an early prospect of entry into remunerative employment.

A boy who has obtained a secondary or middle school (*Chū Gakkō*) certificate can become a junior clerk (official of the *Hannin* rank) in the Government service without passing the civil service examination, and any boy who has an ordinary elementary school diploma may in principle be admitted to a secondary school. In the last ten years, however, it has been necessary to limit the number of admissions to secondary schools, as the overwhelming number of applicants was entirely out of proportion to the number of schools. Candidates were, therefore, obliged to pass a competitive examination in which often only about 10 per cent. or less succeeded. The examination was so severe that it became generally called *Shiken Jigoku* (examination hell), and a year or two ago the Government replaced it by a system of selection based on the candidates' previous record at school. The pressure on girls' high schools (*Kōtō Jo Gakkō*)<sup>1</sup> is also very great, the number of applicants for admission to secondary schools far exceeding the accommodation available.

Approximately 1,800,000 children now leave the primary schools yearly and of these about 150,000 are admitted to secondary schools. Most of the others go to work, but a relatively large number attend the Government continuation and technical schools, which together far outnumber the secondary schools. Continuation schools admit pupils who have finished the elementary school course and give a two years' preparatory course and a two years' regular course for industry and commerce, or a course of two or three years for agriculture and fisheries. The courses of the "B" class technical schools correspond more or less to the preparatory course of the continuation school, and the "A" class technical school courses correspond to the regular course of the continuation school. Both kinds of technical schools are divided into industrial, agricultural, fishery, commercial and nautical schools, but occasionally a school combines different courses.

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<sup>1</sup> The courses at a girls' high school in Japan extend over four years to which one more year may be added. Sometimes "supplementary courses" of one or two years are given. At about ten girls' schools, a higher course of three more years is added in order to allow the pupils to pursue further study after obtaining the ordinary certificate.

Table XCII (A) shows the numbers of the various grades of schools and of the children attending them in 1928, and (B) the State expenditure on technical education.

TABLE XCII (A). — PRIMARY, SECONDARY  
AND LOW-GRADE TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, 1928<sup>1</sup>

Kinds of schools	Number of schools	Children registered
Primary schools	25,959	9,708,603
Middle (boys') schools	619	361,562
High (girls') schools	790	347,709
Continuation schools	13,876	1,048,087
"B" class technical schools	280	65,349
"A" class technical schools	567	197,010
Total	42,091	11,728,320

<sup>1</sup> 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, pp. 251-275.

TABLE XCII (B). — STATE EXPENDITURE FOR POPULAR EDUCATION,  
1928-1931<sup>1</sup>

	Actually spent		Estimate	
	1928	1929	1930	1931 <sup>2</sup>
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
Subventions for technical education	550,000	1,550,000	1,550,000	43,000
Technical education encouragement funds	26,000	11,000	8,000	7,000
Grants to pupils	180,000	158,000	124,000	82,000
Training of teachers	115,000	113,000	108,000	106,000
Training in navigation	—	—	247,000	272,000
Total	871,000	1,832,000	2,037,000	510,000

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 50th *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, pp. 234-235, 344-345. (Schools of collegiate grade are excluded from this table as they do not form part of workers' education.)

<sup>2</sup> In 1931, in addition to the above sums, the Government appropriated 2,352,000 yen for "social education", including adult education, supplementary education, subsidy for Young Men's Training Corps, etc. The municipal expenditure for technical education amounts yearly to about 40,000,000 yen.

It is reported that a high rate of school attendance is maintained by strict enforcement of the compulsory education law with the willing co-operation of parents. An investigation to ascertain the extent of school attendance of workers in factories and mines was carried out on a wide scale by the Statistical Bureau of the Cabinet in 1924. Table XCIII, relating to 1,326,289

factory workers and 292,835 miners shows the results of the enquiry.

TABLE XCIII. — EXTENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF WORKERS,  
OCTOBER 1924<sup>1</sup>

Extent of school attendance	Factory workers		Miners	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of miners	Percentage
Never attended school	77,640	5.85	58,439	19.96
Left the elementary school before completing the course	197,412	14.88	79,874	27.28
Completed the course of the elementary school	731,743	55.17	97,697	33.36
Left the higher elementary school before completing the course	62,659	4.72	14,530	4.96
Completed the course of the higher elementary school	194,040	14.63	36,957	12.62
Left vocational continuation school without completing the course	8,588	0.65	423	0.14
Completed the course of the vocational continuation school	10,676	0.81	474	0.16
Left middle school without completing the course	20,345	1.53	1,907	0.65
Completed the course of the middle school	12,532	0.95	775	0.27
Others	2,360	0.18	522	0.18
Uncertain	8,294	0.63	1,237	0.42
Total	1,326,289		292,835	

<sup>1</sup> *Rōdō Tōkei Yōran*, 1931 edition, pp 288-297.

Table XCIII shows that in 1924, 27 per cent. of the miners covered by the enquiry had left the elementary school without completing the course while 20 per cent. had never been to school at all. For factory workers the percentage was lower: only some 6 per cent. had never been to school, while 15 per cent. had left the primary school before the end of the school attendance period.

### *Social and Adult Education*

In 1905 the State Department of Education first instituted lectures designed to raise the general intelligence of the people, and during the acceleration of industrialisation which took place in the later years of the World War it was realised that elementary education must be supplemented by adult education. In 1922 a Social Education Section (*Shakai Kyōiku Kwa*) was set up in the Department of Education, and courses of lectures were orga-

nised under the control of the Section but in close connection with universities, colleges and other institutions of learning.

The courses covered scientific teaching of industrial subjects; in addition, the programme included physical development (by means of gymnastic exercises and sports), and instruction for the betterment of living conditions and for raising the standard of life. Urban prefectures such as Tokyo and Osaka and industrialised local prefectures such as Aichi and Okayama, also set up social education sections; in prefectures where no such sections were formed, measures were taken to organise and finance schemes of adult education. In 1929, the importance of the work of the Social Education Section was emphasised by its transformation into the Social Education Bureau of the Department of Education. Under the auspices of the Bureau adult education is developing in all parts of Japan; schools, libraries, municipal institutions and all kinds of educational bodies are co-operating in the movement.

In addition to this "social education" movement there has been since 1919 an adult education movement on a more modest scale. At first single lectures and courses of lectures were organised by educational institutions under the auspices of the Department of Education. Since 1923 definite courses of instruction have been organised and although only a small number of people took advantage of the courses in the early stages, the results of the experiment were considered encouraging and the facilities were increased. The results in the five years from 1923-1928 are shown below:

TABLE XCIV. — ADULT EDUCATION COURSES ORGANISED  
BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1923-1928

Year	Number of cities or towns	Number of courses	Number of classes	Number of hours	Number of persons enrolled <sup>1</sup>	Number of persons completing the courses	Percentage of persons completing the courses
1923	1	4	40	120	426	327	56
1924	6	27	206	509	4,949	2,207	41
1925	8	34	375	675	2,952	2,172	74
1926	63	174	1,654	3,628	12,960 (1,193)	8,437 (996)	65
1927	84	223	2,132	4,624	17,285 (2,746)	11,253 (1,916)	67
1928	99	272	2,480	5,369	21,440 (3,551)	13,487 (2,603)	63

<sup>1</sup> The figures in brackets indicate the number of women (cf. *Saikin no Shakai Undō*, p. 943). Adult education is provided in most cases for both men and women workers, but there are a number of courses designed specially for women, the chief example being those given by the Department of Finance to its workers in collaboration with the Japan Adult Education Association.

Tokyo leads in providing facilities for the education of workers. Lectures and courses are given on holidays, on Sundays or in the evenings at such institutions as the Commercial and Industrial Young People's Clubs and the Citizens' and Workers' School. The university extension "citizens' courses", which began first in 1925, are perhaps the most popular. Special courses are organised in the working-class quarters of the city, each lasting from five to ten days. Some classes are modelled on the tutorial classes of the British Workers' Educational Association.

The Commercial and Industrial Young Peoples' Clubs were started in 1922, and are intended for employees in shops, factories, etc. They had to be discontinued for a while after the great earthquake of 1923, but have revived and now they are conducted in four centres of Tokyo. The Citizens' and Workers' School started by the City of Tokyo in 1924 is of a rather higher standard. Two courses of instruction are given, the first of the secondary school grade and the second corresponding to a college course; classes are held on three evenings a week for a term of from three to four months.

Another noteworthy experiment in adult education has been made in the City of Kure, which is a naval port with a population of over 150,000<sup>1</sup>. A workers' education course was started in 1924 under the joint auspices of the Department of Education and the city and with the support of the *Kaikō Kai*, a union of the arsenal workers, and within two years the number of workers who had completed the course was over 3,800. Improvements have been made year by year in the organisation; secondary and collegiate courses are now provided. The curriculum includes philosophy, law, social problems, economics, theory of evolution, etc. The lectures are always given in the evening in order to facilitate the attendance of the workers.

*Workers' Education Organised by Private Institutions or by Employers and Workers*

*Private institutions.* — Of the permanent institutions for workers' education under private auspices the most important is the *Tokyo Kōgyō Senshū Gakkō* (Special Industrial School) man-

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<sup>1</sup> The workers employed in the arsenal at Kure number about 21,000, and together with their families represent two-thirds of the population.



aged by the *Kyocho Kai*. The school owes its origin to the initiative of Mr. Seiichi Teshima, President of the Higher Industrial College of Tokyo, who founded it in 1899 as a continuation school for providing the workers with supplementary vocational training. Its management was handed over to the *Kyocho Kai* in 1921. The school conducts its classes in the evening only, and the whole course extends over seven years: two years of elementary and intermediate courses respectively, one year of preparation for the higher course, and two years of the higher course. At the end of 1929, the number of workers on the registers of the school was 1,850 and the total number of persons who had taken the full course since the school started exceeded 10,000.

The Special Industrial School does not content itself with vocational training on technical lines, although that is one of the main objects; it aims also at the building up of character and raising of the social status of the workers, endeavouring to promote among the workers a real understanding of labour and social problems. The school is meant for the workers in the City of Tokyo, but the *Kyocho Kai* has also organised "workers' study courses" (*Rōmusha Kōshū Kai*) in the suburbs of Tokyo since 1921. The special feature of these courses is that, during the week or ten days that the course lasts, the teachers and workers attending the course sleep, eat and work under the same roof. A moral principle of the education given here is that "before becoming an employer, worker, Government official, teacher, or a member of a party, you must learn to be a man". The basis of *Rōmusha Kōshū Kai* teaching is to arouse in the students "an intense desire to live a life which is upright, just, strong and truly worth living". The popularity and the success of these courses may be inferred from the fact that, by June 1929, the number of courses organised by the *Kyocho Kai* alone reached 105, the participants exceeding 10,700 in all<sup>1</sup>. By degrees the work done has attracted the interest of both employers and workers, and municipalities or private bodies have begun to organise similar courses in other parts of Japan.

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<sup>1</sup> Besides these courses, the *Kyocho Kai* has done a great deal to promote the spread of adult education, especially at the naval arsenal towns of Yokosuka, Sasebo and Maizuru and in the City of Osaka. The work done in Yokosuka and in Osaka resulted in establishing labour schools (cf. below, p. 346).

*Employers.* — Educational facilities are provided for workers in Japanese factories and mines by the employers as a part of welfare work<sup>1</sup>. At the same time the rapid expansion of industries has necessitated a higher technical training of the operatives, and there has been emulation among employers in the teaching of the various processes of their respective industries to workers.

Provision for technical training of the operatives was made by the employers early in the Meiji era in machine and tool shops and in shipbuilding yards in order to give the necessary training to newly employed workers and apprentices. Education in manual arts was given to women operatives so as to cultivate their taste and also to train them for work at home after they had left the factory or mine. Class-room instruction began to be given widely in factory and mining establishments after the enforcement in 1916 of the Factory Act, which required that elementary instruction should be given to workers of school age who had not finished the prescribed period of attendance at an ordinary elementary school before being employed. The classes were held mostly at night after the working hours, or, in the case of the workers on the night shift, during the rest hours in the daytime. Large numbers of lecture meetings and educational training courses were organised by the employers when the interest in "social education" first began to spread. After the International Labour Conference of 1924, which recommended principles for the utilisation of workers' spare time, the rate of progress of the movement in Japan was accelerated.

In January 1927 the *Kyocho Kai* called a conference of the persons responsible for workers' education in factories and mines, and the conference adopted a "programme for the promotion of education in factories and mines" drafted by the *Kyocho Kai*. It was a long document elaborating the following points :

(1) The kind of education to be provided for workers in factories and mines ; (2) hindrances to workers' education and how to remove them ; (3) methods for obtaining tangible results from the schooling ; (4) methods for obtaining tangible results from the lectures and training courses ; (5) relations with the educational systems existing outside the factory or mine ; (6) group discipline ; (7) education through recreation ; (8) co-operation with other factories and mines.

The programme contained the guiding principles for workers' education, and its adoption by the conference was con-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part VI, Chapter I, p. 324.

sidered as laying down a standard for employers. The conference also decided unanimously that a central body ought to be set up for the co-ordination of workers' education in Japanese factories and mines, and the *Kyocho Kai* was requested to undertake the responsibility of giving effect to the resolution.

Among the employers' educational activities must also be mentioned those designed mainly to supplement elementary school education such as the Young Men's Night Schools, Supplementary Night Schools, Workers' Supplementary Schools, etc. The subjects taught in the Supplementary Schools for men are ethical principles, civics, the Japanese language, arithmetic, elementary sciences, etc., to which special subjects such as mechanical drawing, mechanics, engineering, etc., are added in the schools set up in machine shops. The teaching in chemical factories, breweries, mines, cotton-spinning mills, etc., aims at increasing the workers' efficiency.

Schools for apprentices have existed since the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company started an Operatives' School (*Shokkō Gakkō*) in 1895. Schools or courses for apprentices recently established by employers are enumerated below :

Name	Place or company
<i>Ube Totei Gakkō</i> (Apprentice School), 1914.	Ube, Yamaguchi Prefecture.
School of Draughtsmanship, 1915.	Japan Porcelain Company, Nagoya.
<i>Mitsubishi Kōgyō Kyōiku Kai</i> (Industrial Education Society), 1918.	Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Yards, Kobe.
<i>Shokkō Yōsei Gakkō</i> (Operatives' Training School), 1919.	Tomakomaki Works, Woji Paper Manufacturing Company.
<i>Chikuhō Kōzan Gakkō</i> (Mining School), 1919.	Chikuhō Coal Mining Company.
<i>Yubari Kōgyō Gakkō</i> (Engineering School), 1920.	Hokkaido Coal Mining and Steamship Company.
<i>Shokkō Kyōiku Sho</i> (Operatives' Training School), 1922.	Tōyō Cotton Spinning Company.
<i>Mitsubishi Kōgyō Gakkō</i> (Engineering School), 1923.	Nagasaki Shipbuilding Yards.
<i>Shokkō Yagaku Kōshū Kai</i> (Operatives' Night School), 1925.	Ikeda Works, Fuji Paper Manufacturing Company.
<i>Yōnenkō Gijitsu Kyōikusho</i> (Young Workers' Art School), 1926.	Yasukawa Electric Works.
<i>Shokkō Kyōiku Kōshū Kai</i> (Operatives' Training Course), 1926.	Sumitomo Copper Works.
<i>Kōfu Yōsei Sho</i> (Miners' Training School), 1926.	Japan Petroleum Company.
<i>Gijitsu Kyōgi Kai</i> (Technical Consultation Course), 1927.	Japan Petroleum Company
<i>Gijitsu Ka</i> (Technical Section for Men) in the <i>Seishu Gakuin</i> (Workers' Schools), 1927	Gunze Silk Filatures.

The training of foremen has recently been undertaken on more systematic lines than formerly, both the development of industry and its rationalisation demanding more specialised supervision. Some particulars of the more representative training courses are set out in table XCV. Courses to complete the technical education of men already holding the position of foremen have also been organised by some of the larger companies. The duration of such courses varies from six months to two years, about two hours' instruction being given three times a week, generally in the evening; the number of foremen attending varies from 40 to 120. Mining companies assisted by the *Kyocho Kai* have organised foremen's courses in the prefecture of Fukuoka, and more than 800 foremen in the mining industry have attended.

Libraries have been started by most of the leading companies; of the undertakings investigated in 1926 by the *Kyocho Kai*<sup>1</sup> over 60 per cent. had their own libraries. The companies frequently make a substantial contribution for the purchase of books if they are concerned with general education and culture. The publication by the workers of weekly, monthly, or quarterly journals is encouraged by the employers and scores of such publications exist. Most of them are entirely financed by the company, so that they are distributed free of charge. In the few cases where these publications are sold, only a nominal charge is made.

*Workers.* — The first step towards the founding of schools specially for workers or by workers was taken in 1911, when Mr. Bunji Suzuki organised periodical lectures for workers as a branch of the social work department of the Unitarian Church in Tokyo. At first lectures were given once a month; admission was free, but to workers only. The scope of the movement was, however, enlarged with the increase of membership and influence of the *Yuai Kai*<sup>2</sup>, until in 1920 the courses were reorganised under the name of Labour Training School (*Rōdō Kōshū Jo*). The term was extended to cover six months, night classes being held three times a week. The curriculum included economics, social science, law, literature, history of trade unionism, etc. Experts on labour questions and prominent scholars gave

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<sup>1</sup> All factories and mines employing 500 or more workers were investigated; 214 replied, and of these 130 had their own libraries.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Part II, Chapter III, pp. 91-93.

their support to the new enterprise, and it gradually grew into something equivalent to a university extension course<sup>1</sup>.

By September 1921, when the teaching staff had been sufficiently strengthened to deal with an increasing body of students, the courses were put on a permanent basis and the Japan Labour School (*Nihon Rōdō Gakkō*) was founded, with Mr. Suzuki as Director, at the headquarters of the General Federation of Labour; branches were established in the suburbs of Tokyo. The curriculum was extended: logic, psychology, labour legislation, natural science and statistics being added to the regular course, while there were special courses on such subjects as the agrarian problem, the arts, diplomacy, journalism, elocution and the English language. The tuition fee is 1 yen per month with a registration fee of 50 sen.

The success of the Japan Labour School encouraged other trade unions to found similar schools: the Osaka Labour School, founded by the social reformer, Kagawa, the Labour School at Amagasaki, maintained by the Amagasaki branch of the General Federation of Labour, and the Kanagawa Labour School in Kawasaki, managed by the Kanagawa Federation of Labour (affiliated to the General Federation), are the best known of these schools.

Another well known labour school, the Central Labour Institute (*Chūō Rōdō Gakuin*), was not founded by a trade union but grew out of the Japan Workers' Education Society organised in 1919 by Mr. Tanizo Awano after the big strike at the Tokyo Arsenal. At this Institute the term lasts twelve months, and instruction is given on four days a week; by March 1929 the Institute had passed out 336 students. The Workers' Institute of the *Kyōcho Kai* in Osaka, the Kobe Workers' School, maintained by the Workers' Cultural Association (*Rōdō Bunka Kyōkai*), the Workers' Schools of the Imperial University Settlements at Honjo, Tokyo, of the Commercial College of Tokyo, and of the S.P.S. (*Société des pensées sociales*) are of the same type as the Institute.

From 1921 to 1924, this movement continued, stimulated in various ways, but more particularly by the prospect of representation in Parliament as a result of the introduction of manhood suffrage. Now the tide has turned; business depression and the internal dissensions in the trade unions have caused the decline of many labour schools — out of twenty-six nearly

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Industrial Conditions and Labour Legislation in Japan*, pp. 106-109

TABLE XCV. — TRAINING COURSES FOR FOREMEN, 1929<sup>1</sup>

Management	Nature of the courses given	Term	Hours of instruction	Qualifications for admission	Number enrolled
Mint	Departments of chemistry; machinery; engraving.	Preparatory 1 year. Regular 2 years.	2.30-5.30 p.m.	Completion of ordinary elementary school course.	40
State Iron Foundry	Ordinary school subjects; mechanics; electrical chemistry; metallurgy.	Preparatory 1 year. Regular 2 years.	8 a.m. - 3 p.m.	Age 23-35 and actual experience of 3 years at the Foundry.	167
Nikko Electric Copper Refiner	Ordinary school subjects; copper refining.	2 years.	8 a.m. - 4 p.m.	Age 16 years or above and completion of higher elementary school course.	26
Tōyō Cotton Spinning Company	Subjects relating to spinning and weaving.	1 year.	8 a.m. - 5 p.m.	Completion of higher elementary school course and 1 year of actual experience in the Company.	—
Fukushima Cotton Spinning Company	Subjects relating to cotton spinning and labour problems.	6 months.	6 hours per week plus actual training	Selection made by the Company.	—
Osaka Cotton Spinning Company	Civics; mechanics; mechanical drawing; factory conditions, etc.	3 months.	5 - 6.30 p.m.	Ditto.	40
Teikyokan Silk Filatures	Factory mechanics; raw silk; silk reeling, etc.	9 months.	7 - 8 p.m.	Ditto.	8
Tsuiji Cotton Spinning Company	Ordinary school subjects, mechanical drawing; science; cotton spinning; etc.	Higher course, 1 year. Ordinary course, 1 year.	Night hours.	Higher: 20 years of age or over and completion of higher elementary school course. Ordinary: up to 20 years of age and completion of ordinary elementary school course.	19 34

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kiyono Kat, *op. cit.*, p. 954.

half have had to close down. Only those which are now open are included in the following list:

TABLE XCVI. — LABOUR SCHOOLS, 1930<sup>1</sup>

Name and place	Date founded	Director and management	Number enrolled
1. Japan Labour School (Shiba, Tokyo)	1921	Bunji Suzuki, labour leader (General Federation of Labour)	57 (March 1927)
2. Central Labour Institute (Hongo, Tokyo)	1921	Tanizo Awano, labour leader (Japan Labour Education Society)	56 (Feb. 1927)
3. Osaka Labour School (Konohanaku, Osaka)	1922	Toyohiko Kagawa, social worker (Committee of Management)	42 (Jan. 1927)
4. Labour Institute (Konohanaku, Osaka)	1922	Tokimitsu Kusama, chief of Osaka Branch ( <i>Kyocho Kai</i> )	21 (March 1928)
5. Workers' Training School (Hiroshima)	1923	Masakichi Hotta (Social Education Society)	32 (Sept. 1925)
6. Kobe Labour School (Kobe)	1924	Kōzō Hisatome (Workers' Cultural Society)	80 (Jan. 1927)
7. University Settlement Labour School (Honjo, Tokyo)	1924	Gentaro Suyehiro, University professor (Imperial University Settlement)	81 (Sept. 1926)
8. Adult Education Course (Asakusa, Tokyo)	1925	Shoichiro Keneko (Local Monopoly Bureau of the Government).	565 (Feb. 1927)
9. Adult Education Course (Hiro)	1925	Itoku Hiraya, labour leader ( <i>Kōryo Kai</i> , a trade union of the Hiro arsenal workers)	92 (June 1927)
10. Kanagawa Labour School (Kawasaki)	1927	Jiro Miki, labour leader (General Federation of Labour).	100 (July 1928)
11. Yokosuka Labour School (Yokosuka)	1927	Fujiro Kawashima, labour leader ( <i>Kōyū Kai</i> , a trade union of the Yokosuka).	62 (Oct. 1927)
12. Working Citizens School (Kawaguchi)	1928	Yoshio Matsunago, Socialist writer (Tokyo Iron Workers' Union).	84 (May 1928)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *KYŌCHO KAI*, op. cit., pp 961-964. All schools which have been closed down are omitted, although some of them may be revived later.

There are internal as well as external reasons for the failure of so many labour schools and some at least of the internal causes would seem to be inherent in schools run by trade unions. The monthly journal of the *Kyocho Kai* published an article in May 1929 which sums up the main difficulties with which such schools have to contend :

At most of the worker's schools they cannot afford to pay adequately for teachers, while in the case of teachers who are at the same time trade unionists, no lesson can be given during a serious dispute affecting the union to which they belong. In the meantime, the Government authorities and employers look askance at those schools having as their object the training of future leaders of the working-class movement. Hence the comparative success in the case of the second type [meaning by this the schools not belonging to the trade unions but to the sympathisers of the working class]. During the months preceding the commencement of the Government persecution of Communists last year (1928), the Communist leaders in trade unions and political groups used to have a busy time in organising workers' classes at local industrial centres, but at present no trace of Communist activity in the field of workers' education can be found, although clandestinely Study Circles are being organised for Communist propaganda, not among the working masses, but among students of universities and other higher schools <sup>1</sup>.

Incidentally, this article throws some light on Communist activity in the field of education, but although this was rife when the article appeared, it appears to have subsided lately.

Though the labour schools are in a bad way at present, there is ground for hope that they will regain the strength and enthusiasm of their early years and it would seem that when circumstances become more favourable revitalisation may well come through two organisations which now group the labour schools of Japan, namely, the Eastern and Western Federations of Labour Schools.

The Western Federation was organised in 1924 by labour leaders interested in the schools in connection with the General Federation of Labour in the cities of Osaka, Kobe, Okayama, Amagasaki and Sakai and the Kyushu district. The aims of the Federation, as agreed on at the inaugural meeting in October 1924, were the following :

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<sup>1</sup> " Workers' Education in Japan " by " T.M. ", in *Shakai Seisaku Jihō* (Social Reform), May 1929, p. 191.



- (1) Arrangement of educational courses for workers ;
- (2) Uniformity in reports of labour schools ;
- (3) Uniformity of curriculum ;
- (4) Promotion of international co-operation among labour schools;
- (5) Maintenance of close relations between the schools and trade unions ;
- (6) Systematic political education among the workers.

The proposal to organise the Federation in Eastern Japan was made first by the Association for the International Labour Organisation in February 1926 and a committee was appointed to elaborate the plan, which resulted in a suggestion for a National Federation. As this proposal was not accepted by the Executive Board of the Association, a small federation was finally organised quite independently of the Association and including only the labour schools in or near Tokyo. The schools participating were the Japan Labour School belonging to the General Federation of Labour, the Imperial University Settlement School, the Central Labour Institute and only three others. Neither of these federations has entirely escaped the depression of the last few years and they can for the moment do little for the individual labour schools, but it seems probable that they will have an important part to play in the future of workers' education in Japan.

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## CHAPTER III

### CO-OPERATION

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#### *The Law and Co-operation*<sup>1</sup>

Some indigenous forms of co-operation have existed in Japan since the Tokugawa Shogunate. One of these, the *Hōtoku-sha*, is particularly interesting as a purely Japanese form of co-operative credit society, in which the members pay small contributions and are entitled to loans for economic purposes at an interest rate of about 5 per cent. Two other types, which also still persist, are the *Tanomoshigō* and *Mujin*, both specifically Japanese forms of savings and loan societies.

Co-operative societies of a modern type came into existence in the 'eighties of the last century, although legislation dealing specifically with co-operation was not passed until 1900. The first attempt at legislation, a Credit Societies Bill introduced in 1891, was intended to relieve small farmers, traders, handicraftsmen, etc., who were particularly hardly pressed by the rise of capitalist industry and were only able to borrow money at usurious rates of interest. The Bill was designed to provide facilities for sales and purchases, and although it failed to pass the Diet the popularising of the ideas upon which it was founded led to a number of credit societies being set up in various towns during 1892 and 1893<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. KIYOSHI OGATA: *Co-operative Movement in Japan* (in English); *Nihon Sangyo Kumiai Shi* (History of Japanese Co-operative Societies), published by the Central Union of Japanese Co-operative Societies; HEIICHI NODA: *Sangyo Kumiai no Hanashi* (History of Co-operative Societies); and ROBERTSON SCOTT: *The Foundations of Japan*.

<sup>2</sup> In 1897, the year that the Government submitted the Co-operative Societies Bill to the Imperial Diet, there were 39 co-operative buying societies with 8,733 members and with property valued at 13,016 yen; 14 co-operative producing societies with 1,068 members; 8 utility co-operative societies with 353 members; 141 co-operative selling societies with 32,561 members and with property amounting to 40,729 yen.

*The Co-operative Societies Act*<sup>1</sup> reproduced the main features of the German Co-operative Societies Act of 1889, with modifications regarding building and consumers' societies. The Bill was introduced in 1897, passed by both Houses of the Imperial Diet in 1899, and the Act came into force in 1900. A steady growth of the number of societies and a marked increase in their prosperity followed its enactment.

The Act defines a co-operative society as a body corporate set up for the promotion of the industrial or economic interests of its members by the following methods<sup>2</sup> :

- (1) By providing the members with funds necessary for the development of their industry and also by facilitating saving.
- (2) By selling collectively the products of its members and if necessary so treating the products as to increase their marketable value.
- (3) By distributing among its members the goods purchased or produced or partly produced by the society necessary for their industry or domestic economy.
- (4) By acquiring plant or machinery for the collective use of its members in their industry or domestic economy.

Thus the Act provides for co-operative societies of four different types : (1) co-operative credit societies, (2) co-operative selling or marketing societies, (3) co-operative buying societies and (4) co-operative utility societies. A single society may combine two or more of these activities.

In order to facilitate the formation of co-operative societies even in sparsely populated villages, the law allows a society to be formed by at least seven members, subject to the authorisation of the Governor of a prefecture.

Eligibility to membership is generally confined to economically independent persons. A member loses his membership by death, bankruptcy, loss of civil capacity, expulsion or the loss of qualification prescribed by the constitution. Shares may not exceed 50 yen, and no member may own more than ten shares..

Federations may be formed as bodies corporate by at least seven co-operative societies. A share in a federation may not exceed 500 yen.

The liability of members of co-operative societies may be (1) limited, (2) unlimited, or (3) guaranteed. In societies with guaranteed liability, members are liable for the debts of the society to the extent of a prescribed amount in addition to the extent of their shares. Federations may only have limited or guaranteed liability.

The area within which a co-operative society may carry on its work is fixed by the society itself according to local conditions and

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<sup>1</sup> The Co-operative Societies Act (*Sangyō Kumiai Hō*), No. 34 of 1900, amended in 1906, 1909, 1917, 1921, 1923 and 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Central Union of Co-operative Societies in Japan : "The Development of the Co-operative Movement in Japan", pp. 2-7. The information contained in these pages has been taken largely from this pamphlet.

the nature of its objects. The area of operation of co-operative credit societies, however, is limited within the boundary of an administrative unit such as a city, town or village, and the area of a federation, except in special cases, corresponds to the territorial limits of a prefecture.

Societies are managed by the general meeting of the members and by a committee of management and auditors consisting of from three to seven members who hold office from one to six years. Important decisions of the general meeting require a three-fourths majority of at least half the members of the society ; each member has one vote, regardless of the number of shares he holds.

The law requires every co-operative society to pay at least a quarter of the profits of each working year into a reserve fund until the fund has reached a sum prescribed by the constitution. Entrance fees, share bonuses, etc., must also be paid into the reserve fund. Dividends not exceeding 6 per cent. — or in special cases 10 per cent. — may be paid on shares ; where dividends are paid in proportion to the amount of business transacted with the society no legal limitation is imposed.

Co-operative societies and federations are under the supervision of the local administrative authority (prefectural Governor) and the Minister of Commerce and Industry. Co-operative credit societies are supervised by the Minister of Finance as well as by the above-mentioned authorities. The supervisory authorities have at the same time the duty of encouraging and guiding the co-operative societies.

In order to foster co-operation, the societies enjoy the following privileges :

- (1) Exemption from the taxes on business profits, business transactions and on income, as well as from the registration tax as registration is required by the Co-operative Societies Act.
- (2) Government facilities to co-operative societies which undertake contracts.
- (3) Government loans at low interest rates to co-operative societies and their federations through mortgage banks.
- (4) The Mortgage Bank of Japan and other land credit banks are authorised to grant loans to co-operative societies without security.

### *Development of Co-operative Societies*

*General.* — Co-operative societies grew steadily in number and prosperity after the passing of the Co-operative Societies Act, in spite of a period of considerable difficulty at the time of the war with Russia. Table XCVII (page 352) gives a statistical summary of their development from 1900-1930.

The decrease in the number of societies from 1925 which is shown in table XCVII is largely due to the Government's policy of amalgamating the smaller societies and dissolving societies which were badly organised. Generally speaking, credit societies are the most numerous, while societies for the purchase of equipment and those for sales and marketing hold the second and third places respectively. Co-operative distributive societies had made

but little progress until the last ten or twelve years, when the high cost of living compelled consumers to take more interest than formerly in obtaining both necessities and commodities at moderate prices; during this period co-operative stores have noticeably developed.

TABLE XCVII. — PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, 1900-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of co-operative societies	Number of federations	Number of members of co-operative societies	Total amount of capital	Number of members of the Central Union	Number of branches	Number of societies affiliated to the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Japan
				Yen			
1900	21	—	—	—	—	—	—
1905	1,671	—	68,563	2,348,180	828	3	—
1910	7,308	13	534,085	19,348,734	6,002	36	—
1915	11,509	72	1,288,984	76,018,446	9,441	45	—
1920	13,442	155	2,290,235	354,605,959	12,392	46	—
1925	14,517	200	3,653,748	949,593,648	12,670	47	938
1926	14,375	187	3,947,806	1,184,641,912	13,033	47	967
1927	14,186	182	4,157,404	1,297,598,514	12,527	47	1,013
1928	14,171	179	4,405,553	1,479,965,770	12,622	47	1,042
1929	14,047	185	4,571,785	1,626,434,337	12,510	47	1,115
1930	14,082	185	4,647,254	1,665,247,844	—	47	3,785

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the tables in the *Sangyō Kumai Nenkan* (Co-operative Year-Book) 1932 edition, pp. 87-153.

Co-operative societies of limited liability are far more numerous than those of unlimited or guaranteed liability; for the last

TABLE XCVIII. — PROPORTION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND THE NUMBER OF CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES, 1900-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of co-operative societies	Number of cities, towns and villages in Japan	Percentage
1900	21	14,069	0.1
1905	1,671	13,437	12.4
1910	7,308	12,393	59.0
1915	11,509	12,329	93.3
1920	13,442	12,195	110.2
1925	14,517	12,007	120.9
1926	14,375	11,993	119.8
1927	14,186	11,937	118.8
1928	14,171	11,925	118.7
1929	14,047	11,868	118.3
1930	14,082	11,855	118.7

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88

four or five years they have represented upwards of 88 per cent. of the existing societies. In 1930, when the total number of societies had reached 14,082, there were 733 with limited liability, 112 with unlimited liability and 237 with guaranteed liability.

Table XCVIII shows the increase of the proportion of co-operative societies to the number of cities, towns and villages from 1900 to 1930.

The number of members of co-operative societies has risen steadily ; the figures given below show that the average membership per society has more than trebled in the course of a little over two decades.

TABLE XCIX. — AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS  
OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, 1907-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of co-operative societies investigated	Number of members	Average number of members per society
1907	1,623	151,123	93
1910	7,308	534,085	73
1915	10,509	1,288,984	122
1920	13,442	2,290,235	170
1925	14,517	3,653,748	251
1926	14,375	3,947,806	274
1927	14,186	4,157,404	293
1928	14,171	4,405,553	310
1929	14,047	4,571,785	325
1930	14,082	4,647,254	330

A statistical survey of the occupations of the members shows that the co-operative movement in Japan is strongest in the agricultural districts, and that nearly 73 per cent. are farmers, about 11 per cent. are shopkeepers and 5 per cent. artisans or craftsmen. For details see the table below :

TABLE C. — CLASSIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES  
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1929

Occupation	Number of co-operative societies investigated	Number of members	Percentage
Farmers	—	3,319,155	72.6
Woodsmen	—	7,611	0.2
Artisans	—	221,808	4.8
Shopkeepers	—	508,333	11.1
Fishermen	—	86,404	1.9
Other occupations	—	428,474	9.4
Total	14,047	4,571,785	100.0

Table CI below shows the amount of share capital, reserve funds and loans of Japanese co-operative societies for the period 1918-1930 :

TABLE CI. — SHARE CAPITAL, RESERVE FUNDS AND LOANS  
OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, 1918-1930<sup>1</sup>

Fiscal year	No. of societies reported	Share capital		Reserve fund	Loans raised
		Amount	Paid up		
		Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
1918	11,230	47,281,503	33,456,521	15,358,505	21,602,321
1919	11,656	62,256,978	41,281,304	18,734,883	32,001,087
1920	12,189	89,942,717	55,542,217	24,558,335	50,184,662
1921	12,539	115,069,361	69,498,485	28,367,188	46,531,812
1922	12,690	144,535,100	86,498,485	34,789,675	59,403,007
1923	12,919	173,069,917	102,770,433	42,784,716	72,045,300
1924	13,219	202,797,794	122,344,578	52,028,565	74,048,042
1925	13,379	230,875,615	142,581,744	61,719,948	90,390,411
1926	13,247	251,246,532	163,898,728	73,373,654	115,536,021
1927	13,197	266,849,014	181,977,491	81,654,264	148,142,539
1928	13,169	284,095,172	199,589,562	94,085,007	175,049,134
1929	13,170	299,557,511	216,248,937	104,593,916	197,224,836
1930	12,909	303,941,346	225,065,483	111,638,425	244,277,798

<sup>1</sup> DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE : *The Thirty-first Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, 1931, p. 108.

*Co-operative credit societies.* — The success of these societies is much more marked than that of any other form of co-operation in Japan. This success is due to the fact that the needs of the small farmers and shopkeepers are best met by this type of co-operative society, and also to the encouragement by the Government of the development of co-operative societies of the Schultze-Delitsch or Raiffeissen rather than of the Rochdale type. The extent to which this type of co-operation has spread is shown in table CII<sup>1</sup>.

In addition to share capital, the funds of these societies are made up of deposits by members' families, public corporations, non-profit associations, etc. The maximum amount of the loans that may be granted to a member is decided upon by the ordinary general meeting year by year. The same body also elects annually

<sup>1</sup> At the end of 1930 out of a total of 14,082 societies there were 12,104, or 86 per cent., carrying on co-operative credit work. Of this number only 2,449 were credit co-operative societies pure and simple, the remaining 9,655 being "compound societies" with other activities such as co-operative buying and selling or marketing.

a committee of several persons to enquire into the financial position of every member and to decide as to the amount of the loan, which of course must not exceed the limit fixed by the general meeting. At the end of 1930 the loans thus granted amounted to 988,780,696 yen, which gives an average of 65,572 yen per society. As a rule loans are granted without guarantee, and such non-guaranteed loans represent about 70 per cent. of the total amount. The interest in the great majority of cases is fixed at from 9 to 10 per cent., which is lower by 1 or 2 per cent. than the ordinary local rate. In certain cities or urban districts designated by the Finance Minister, urban co-operative credit societies may be formed with the power, under certain conditions prescribed by the rules, of discounting bills of exchange for their members<sup>1</sup>.

The following table shows the development of co-operative credit societies from 1921 to 1930 :

TABLE CII. — DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES, 1921-1930<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of societies reported	Number of members	Deposits	Loans granted
			Yen	Yen
1921	11,173	2,185,121	284,935,552	240,882,277
1922	11,394	2,429,075	337,778,899	304,098,840
1923	11,668	2,656,131	414,475,355	368,699,156
1924	11,979	2,928,418	525,283,019	452,842,987
1925	12,016	3,148,008	654,901,545	531,598,727
1926	11,847	3,389,930	781,403,989	641,608,617
1927	11,722	3,489,355	885,824,220	740,639,515
1928	11,578	3,636,878	1,011,242,067	845,354,705
1929	11,530	3,755,876	1,108,366,648	897,206,318
1930	12,909	—	—	988,780,696

<sup>1</sup> DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, *op cit*, p. 108

*Co-operative selling or marketing societies.* — An increasing number of societies (8,366 in 1930) have developed this side of co-operative activity. The articles and products handled vary widely : raw silk and cocoons amount to more than half of the

<sup>1</sup> A society of this kind may also receive deposits from non-members. Such deposits may be on current account, short-term deposits or long-term deposits ; the usual rate of interest is 6 or 7 per cent. per annum. In 1928 there were in Japan 102 cities and 104 urban districts designated by the authority in which urban credit co-operatives might be founded, and up to that year 235 urban credit societies had been formed.



total value of goods marketed, rice comes next, followed by other foodstuffs, livestock and textile fabrics. Table CIII shows the number of societies and their membership, together with the total values of sales.

TABLE CIII. — DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE SELLING  
OR MARKETING SOCIETIES, 1921-1930

Year	Number of societies reported	Number of members	Sales
			Yen
1921	6,749	1,408,430	128,075,087
1922	6,976	1,582,236	156,466,049
1923	7,137	1,682,331	170,154,622
1924	7,396	1,898,910	191,888,668
1925	7,595	2,072,580	216,017,836
1926	7,541	2,248,186	221,295,672
1927	7,524	2,404,754	221,454,464
1928	7,515	2,547,218	245,773,860
1929	7,626	2,690,278	254,555,387
1930	8,366	—	174,797,570

*Co-operative buying societies.* — This branch of co-operation is carried on by some 73 per cent. of Japanese societies, but it does not appear to be developing. The purchases made in 1929 by 9,505 societies investigated amounted to 155,174,923 yen, giving an average of 16,326 yen per society, which is about the average rate for a year. Fertilisers, agricultural implements, seeds and seedlings, and silkworms' eggs are the chief commodities bought, together with raw materials for manufacture of various

TABLE CIV. — PURCHASES MADE BY CO-OPERATIVE BUYING SOCIETIES,  
1920-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of societies reported	Number of members	Purchases
			Yen
1920	8,912	1,709,800	152,061,881
1921	9,427	2,198,930	117,553,282
1922	9,529	2,043,700	122,715,586
1923	9,742	2,252,882	133,803,437
1924	9,838	2,445,874	146,555,463
1925	10,041	2,572,345	152,169,503
1926	9,851	2,744,465	153,547,945
1927	9,739	2,833,270	143,430,109
1928	9,559	2,927,980	149,011,320
1929	9,505	3,014,997	155,174,923

<sup>1</sup> DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, *op. cit.*, p. 109

kinds, tools and machinery, etc. The societies also buy for their members such articles of consumption as rice, wheat and other cereals, salt, silk, sugar, *saké*, macaroni, fish, coal, petroleum, and textile fabrics. Table CIV shows little change in the number of societies or the value of the goods purchased since 1920, although the membership has increased very considerably. The membership figure is, however, not an indication of development of this branch of co-operation as the societies are mostly mixed in character.

*Co-operative stores.* — This kind of co-operative activity has recently been considerably developed, and the stores are used especially by working people in Japan as in other countries. Societies which carry on stores are included in table CIV, as they can only secure legal recognition by being registered as "buying societies" to which they are subsidiary. The Government's deliberate omission to recognise co-operative stores in the legislation on co-operation has, however, had the result that by making these stores auxiliary to buying societies they have been enabled to federate with the agricultural societies which have always been fostered by the Government.

Until the authorities began to take positive action, the development of co-operative stores was extremely slow. Those which were established from 1880 to 1898 owed their existence to Socialist or trade union organisations or propaganda, and their prosperity has therefore been linked with the trade unions and has declined when the unions have been in difficulties. The more modern co-operative stores which have commanded success may have learned something from the early attempts, but the real movement began in 1901 and was to some extent suggested by a desire to have an organisation that would facilitate saving by the lesser Government officials. The office of the first of these stores, the *Kyōdō Kai* (Co-operative Society) was actually set up in the building of the House of Representatives<sup>1</sup>, and it started modestly with the declared object of supplying members with articles of good quality at low prices. Its first members were civil servants, but so soon as it secured public confidence its membership grew rapidly. In 1904 it was registered under the Co-operative Societies Act and in 1908 the office removed from the Parliament House into a private building. It now has several thousand active members and its annual sales amount to close on a million yen.

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<sup>1</sup> K OGATA, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

The advance in prices, which was a menace to the standard of life of people with small incomes, stimulated the consumers' co-operative movement. After the *Kyōdō Kai* had been so successfully launched, stores were established all over the country by civil servants, salaried employees and industrial workers<sup>1</sup>. The result is that there is a wide variety of consumers' co-operative stores in Japan. Among them are now a large number of workers' co-operative stores based on the principle of self-help<sup>1</sup>.

*Co-operative utility societies.* — These societies have been formed to acquire agricultural land, warehouses, tractors, machinery, and other equipment for agriculture and industry, houses, electric plant, fishing boats, household equipment, etc., for the use of their members but there has been little development of societies of this kind. In 1929 there were only 4,826 societies engaged in this form of activity out of the total of 14,047 co-operative societies; but although their growth is not rapid there has been a steady increase every year from the date of the Co-operative Societies Act, and this growth has been favoured by the successive amendments of the Act. Nearly 800 of these societies own rice-cleaning and various other agricultural machines and implements which they let out on hire to

TABLE CV. — PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATIVE UTILITY SOCIETIES,  
1920-1929<sup>1</sup>

Year	Number of societies reported	Number of members	Rents and dues
			Yen
1920	2,220	493,920	1,536,803
1921	2,506	576,572	1,328,469
1922	2,764	691,489	1,565,877
1923	3,081	864,748	2,456,279
1924	3,604	1,031,905	2,959,149
1925	4,067	1,234,846	3,927,522
1926	4,348	1,414,627	4,188,900
1927	4,592	1,585,228	5,362,102
1928	4,761	1,756,142	5,670,698
1929	4,826	1,855,751	5,826,309

<sup>1</sup> DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, *op. cit.*, p. 109

<sup>1</sup> Lately universities, colleges and other institutions for higher education have started co-operative stores, enrolling both teachers and students. A typical example is the Tokyo Students' Co-operative Store, established in 1925, with several thousand members.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Workers' Co-operative Societies", at the end of this chapter

their members; some 200 own silk mills, and electric current distribution offices or power stations are run by nearly 100 of them. Among the bewildering variety of activities carried on by these societies are hospitals, farms, irrigation works, barbers' shops, kindergartens and the hire of clothes for weddings and funerals. The rents and dues they collect have been rising yearly since 1920, as shown in table CV.

*The Agricultural Storage Act of 1917*<sup>1</sup> opened a field to co-operative societies of which they have taken full advantage. The object of the Act was to facilitate the preservation in special granaries or warehouses of cereals or cocoons produced by agriculturists or collected by landlords as rent for land. Storage may not be conducted for profit, and the organisation responsible for the storage, in addition to preserving the produce deposited, may not only carry on all the processes for improving, grading and preparing it for sale but may also act as intermediary and make loans on the guarantee of the deposit certificate. Thus agricultural storage undertakings have functions and powers wider than those of co-operative societies. Agricultural storage warehouses may be managed by bodies corporate such as co-operative societies, agricultural societies and public bodies, in fact, since 1917 agricultural storage warehouses run by co-operative societies in conformity with the Act have increased every year and in 1930 they numbered 2,658, the statistics showing that this business is mainly in the hands of co-operative societies, which manage 92 per cent. of the warehouses<sup>2</sup>.

The State grants privileges to agricultural warehouses conducted in conformity with the Act, and the Department of Agriculture and Forestry assists the prefectures in subsidising agricultural storage throughout the country. A ten-yearly subvention of 2,050,000 yen to cover 20 per cent. of the building cost was at first given, but this has been increased to cover 40 per cent. of the costs, and now the subvention exceeds 90,000,000 yen: the original plan was one storage warehouse for all towns or villages in groups of three, making a total of 4,100 storage warehouses, covering 255,000 *tsubo* (1,008,270 square yards).

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<sup>1</sup> *Nōgyō Sōkogyō Hō*, Act No. 15 of 20 July, 1917

<sup>2</sup> In 1926, as against 2,108 co-operative societies, there were only 111 agricultural societies, 41 incorporated associations, and 14 towns or villages managing storage warehouses.

*Federations of co-operative societies.* — In 1909, by an amendment to the Co-operative Societies Act, federations of the societies were legally recognised. Federations multiplied rapidly, and in 1924 there were 205; in 1930 the number had fallen to 185, chiefly owing to amalgamations. Thirty-five per cent. of the federations grouped mixed marketing and buying societies; federations of buying societies came next in importance as regards numbers, followed by federations of credit societies. The latter type of federation has made much progress; there is a federation of credit societies in every prefecture acting as a central agency for the affiliated societies and for the Central Co-operative Societies Bank.

TABLE CVI. — MEMBERSHIP, CAPITAL, SURPLUS AND TURNOVER  
OF FEDERATIONS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, 1930<sup>1</sup>

Federations reported . . . . .	165 federations
Number of members . . . . .	18,060 societies
Share capital . . . . .	27,030,534 yen
Share capital paid up . . . . .	18,317,718 "
Various reserve funds . . . . .	3,757,287 "
Loan capital . . . . .	51,589,783 "
Surplus . . . . .	867,772 "
Loans outstanding (credit federations) . . . . .	82,646,509 "
Deposits outstanding (credit federations) . . . . .	146,149,836 "
Amount of sales (sales federations) . . . . .	67,886,704 "
Amount of purchases (buying federations) . . . . .	30,738,846 "
Amount of rents and dues (utility federations) . . . . .	35,702 "

<sup>1</sup> CENTRAL UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES *Sangyō Kumiai Nenkan*, 1932, p. 133

*The Co-operative Wholesale Society (Zenkoku Kōbaikumiai Rengō kai)* was organised in 1923, after some pioneer work had been done by the Central Union of Co-operative Societies. It is on a national basis and buys goods and commodities and sells them to the member federations or societies at wholesale prices; it may treat these goods so as to improve their quality. Shares are of a nominal value of 500 yen, of which 200 yen must be paid up, and each member may hold as many as 50 shares. The paid up share capital was 946,000 yen in 1930, and the sales amounted to roughly 11,644,000 yen. Although it began at a disadvantage in the year of the earthquake, the Society had a membership of 3,785 federations or societies in 1930.

*The Central Bank of Co-operative Societies* came into being also in 1923 when the Act<sup>1</sup> constituting it was promulgated. The

<sup>1</sup> Act concerning the Central Bank of Co-operative Societies (*Sangyō Kumiai Chuō Kinko Hō*), Act No. 42 of 5 April 1923.

share capital was subscribed by the Government and the co-operative societies and federations in two equal parts. In 1930 the Government and 11,363 federations and societies had paid up 28,055,860 yen in share capital ; the deposits were 43,883,835 yen, and the amount of loans was 81,029,728 yen.

*The Japanese Raw Silk Co-operative Federation (Dai-Nippon Kiito Hanbai-Kumiai Rengō Kai)* was organised in March 1927 with headquarters in Yokohama. At the end of September 1931, seventy co-operative filatures, or 89 per cent. of all the co-operative filatures in Japan, were affiliated. In the year ending June 1930 the Federation handled 25,369 packages of raw silk, of which 22,108 packages were sold for 15,588,855 yen.

*The Central Union of Co-operative Societies*, although it was formed in 1905, only became a legally recognised body in 1910, after the 1909 revision of the Co-operative Societies Act. The membership consists of co-operative societies and federations and also individuals who support the Union. The purposes of the Union are to further the development of co-operative societies and federations, and to co-ordinate their activities. It does a great deal of educational work through training schools, lectures, propaganda by means of the cinema, gramophones, posters, etc., the supply of information and investigations, and issues a bulletin and other educational literature. It undertakes expert examination of property, debts, deficits and surplus of societies, methods of book-keeping, application of legislation, etc. National Co-operative Conferences have been held under its auspices and its intervention has secured the amendment of the law affecting the interests of co-operative societies.

### *Workers' Co-operative Societies*

The co-operative movement in Japan did not originate with the working people, although they have benefited by it. It was developed largely by Government initiative, and was intended in the first place to assist small owners of property. An analysis of the membership and officers of the leading societies<sup>1</sup> shows, moreover, that co-operative organisations in Japan are mostly controlled by owners of land.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. OGATA : *The Consumers' Co-operative Movement in Japan*, p. 31, or KYOCHO KAI : *Saikin no Shakai Undō*, pp. 487-488.

Of 12,005 members belonging to the twenty-two representative co-operative societies which had the distinction of "Honourable Mention" by the Central Union of Co-operative Societies in 1926, 916 were landowners, 3,207 small proprietor-farmers, 3,349 part tenants and part proprietor-farmers, and 2,821 tenant-farmers. The members of the committees of management of these societies, who numbered 156 in all, consisted of 103 landowners, 35 proprietor-farmers, 12 part tenants and part proprietor-farmers, 1 tenant-farmer and 5 others. A comparison of these two sets of figures shows that the landowners, who constitute the smallest part of the membership, occupy two-thirds of the seats on the committees of management of these same societies. More than half the auditors' seats are held by landowners, and in the special committees for appraising the financial status of the members they occupy one-fourth of the seats, while there is one tenant-farmer who may be either an auditor or a member of this special committee. The distribution per head of the loans in these societies is: landowner, 804 yen; proprietor-farmer, 389 yen; part tenant part proprietor-farmer, 437 yen; tenant-farmer, 230 yen; others, 299 yen. Thus it is the landowners or proprietor-farmers, rather than the non-propertied tenants, who derive benefit from the co-operative societies. In the face of these figures the profound social significance of the movement to found co-operative societies by the workers themselves needs no comment.

The *Kyodō Ten*, a genuine workers' co-operative store, was the pioneer of the movement in 1868, and had twenty-six branches, but it lasted only a few years and came to an end when the early trade unions failed. Another attempt in 1905 came to nothing since it could not enrol enough members, and it was not until the close of the Great War that a fresh movement began.

In the spring of 1919, the iron workers of Tokyo belonging to the General Federation of Japanese Labour opened a consumers' co-operative store in Tsukishima, Tokyo, and a credit and buying society was organised almost simultaneously at Kawasaki near Yokohama. In the former case the capital share was 5 yen, the initial payment being fixed at 50 sen and the balance payable in three years; there were 159 members, with 1,050 shares. In the western part of Japan, in 1920, a consumers' co-operative store was opened in Kobe and in Osaka, but was eventually transformed into a store for citizens generally. In the following year mechanics in Osaka organised the *Osaka Kyodō Sha* (Osaka Co-operative

Society). These societies flourished for a short time, but the trade depression of those years and the earthquake of 1923 brought about the failure of most of them.

After the *Hōkō Tenkan*<sup>1</sup>, which is the expression used to describe the turning of the main current of Japanese trade unions towards a moderate policy, the General Federation began to show more interest in the co-operative movement. The formation in 1924 of a consumers' co-operative society of workers at the Shōyu manufactory at Noda and of the *Yūai Sha* at Osaka was the concrete outcome of the new policy. The *Yūai Sha* was managed exclusively by women workers, who ran it on the principle of low prices without profit. This society did not attempt to pay dividends, but in addition to its commercial activities it set up a legal service, midwifery service, dispensary, etc. In May 1925 the Noda Co-operative Society was legally recognised under the Co-operative Societies Act, and in 1927 it had a membership of 1,327, with annual sales of 141,000 yen. It was admittedly a great success, and in Japan was held to be a model workers' co-operative society. In 1928, after a strike of the union to which it belonged, the society was dissolved, solely on account of the strike and not because its business had failed.

According to the report submitted to the 1930 Annual Congress of the General Federation, there were twenty-one consumers' co-operative societies in the unions affiliated to the Federation. The combined membership of these societies was 4,640, the paid-up capital 54,777 yen, reserve funds 10,398 yen, and average sales per month 46,088 yen per society or 9.93 yen per member<sup>2</sup>. The last figure may be compared with the average monthly purchases per member of the ordinary consumers' co-operative societies, which amount to only about 4.25 yen.

In addition to the societies controlled by the General Federation, other federations control societies numbering fifty-three in all<sup>3</sup>. Although a large majority of these societies consist solely of the members of the unions there are also many which extend the membership to cover peasants, small shopkeepers and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Part II, Chapter IV, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> 年報 Rōnō Sōbōmu: *Zenkoku Taikai Hōkokusho* (Report of the Annual Congress, 1930), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> The aggregate total of the members of these societies was 122,118, including 88,000 members belonging to the Japan Seamen's Union alone. The total paid-up capital amounted to 266,005 yen. Cf. *Rōnō Jihō*. Feb. 1931, p. 14.)



workers who do not belong to the trade union concerned. As a rule, the co-operative societies maintained by the trade unions are financially independent of the union. Even in the case of a strike, the co-operative society may offer no positive financial aid to the union which is involved. Food and other goods furnished to the strikers have to be paid for. Thus, any prolonged strike reported as having caused the collapse of a workers' co-operative society may be understood to have affected the society only indirectly.

Co-operative societies belonging to trade unions have begun to increase in number only recently. There were two organised in 1919, and in the following years only a few new ones were started. But eight new societies were set up in 1927 and the same number in 1928, nine in 1929 and fourteen in 1930.

Quite apart from these societies which belong to one or the other of the workers' unions as an adjunct to their trade union activities, there is a federation of workers' co-operative stores which is entirely independent of any particular union. This federation came into being under the name of *Kyodō Sha* (literally "Co-operative Society") in the town of Oshima near Tokyo in 1920. The society owes its existence and its development to Rikichi Okamoto, who devoted all his energies to it. It started with an initial membership of some forty factory workers and a capital share of 20 yen. The store was open four times a week after the factories closed. Within six months the membership had trebled and a net profit was made of over 660 yen. From its inception, the society adopted the Rochdale principles and methods which proved effective and stimulating, and similar stores grew up in quick succession in the vicinity of Tokyo. With a view to co-ordinating these stores with co-operative buying, the society changed its name in 1926 to *Kantō Shōhi Kumiai Renmei* (League of Consumers' Co-operative Societies of Eastern Japan).

Since the formation of the federation, the stores or societies affiliated to it have steadily increased in number and early in 1931 the League had twenty constituent societies, most of which are in the neighbourhood of Tokyo<sup>1</sup>. The membership of these societies varies from 100 to 450, and their average monthly sales amount to from 1,500 yen to 7,000 yen. About one-fifth of the members are non-workers, but the rest are all *bona-fide* wage earners. Some workers' co-operative stores scattered over distant

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rōdō Jihō*, March 1931, p. 18.

parts of north-eastern Japan, though not officially affiliated, still draw supplies from it. Its present business conditions are favourable, having a subscribed capital of 24,300 yen, and it appears to have a promising future. The aggregate amount of the monthly supplies from the Federation to all the constituent societies varies from 18,000 yen to 20,000 yen. But in the western half of Japan there is no federation of workers' co-operative societies to correspond with this *Kantō* (eastern) league. Attempts to federate in the west were made about 1922 but proved abortive.

Undoubtedly the Japanese co-operative movement has made most headway in agricultural districts<sup>1</sup>, where the movement has 2,890,000 members, representing over 73 per cent. of the total membership of workers' co-operative societies. It is stated that 52 per cent. of all agricultural households are in the movement. Nevertheless these figures might give a somewhat false impression of the real situation in agricultural districts because the goods actually handled by the co-operative selling or buying societies represent only a small fraction of the total value of goods sold or consumed by the rural population. Even to-day most sales are not made directly to the consumers or to their societies but to wholesale dealers or middlemen. There are indications that the policy of placing the control of co-operative societies wholly in the hands of property owners is being recognised as an anomaly. The agricultural workers organised in trade unions, finding themselves in an impasse in regard to their disputes with landowners for the reduction of tenancy rents, have begun to seek relief in co-operation. The spread of class-conscious agitation in rural co-operative societies which has become more and more acute of late may largely be attributed to this situation.

The agitation is taking two parallel courses, one being to organise new societies consisting exclusively of working people and the other to take over the existing societies by gradual penetration. The co-operative societies at Nakashō near Osaka and at Oshihara in Yamanashi prefecture are outstanding examples of the second course. The first type is represented by the credit, marketing and buying society at Isoshima in Miye prefecture and another at Suwahara in Aichi prefecture. But owing to the fact that legal co-operative societies are under the supervision of local Governors and as a rule one only may be set

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<sup>1</sup> The information in this section has been chiefly taken from Kyocho-Kai, *op. cit.*, pp. 508-515.

up in any one village with the permission of the Governor, the attempt to organise a new society exclusively of working people is apt to be frustrated by legal difficulties. For this reason the large number which have been started recently by agricultural and other workers in rural districts are only companies voluntarily organised on co-operative lines but not in conformity with the requirements of the law. The future of the workers' co-operative movement in agricultural villages of Japan lies, therefore, in these voluntary organisations rather than in the legally recognised co-operative societies.

Already there are a considerable number of these voluntary bodies, which supplement the deficiencies of the legal societies; the most important are marketing and consumers' societies. So long ago as 1924 there were 871 marketing societies handling goods amounting in value to 58,262,550 yen. Up to 1918 or 1919, the greater part of the vegetables and fruit at the wholesale market of Osaka was supplied by local merchants, but now more than half of the supply comes from the producers' co-operative societies formed by the peasants, a proof that these voluntary societies, formed independently of legal limitations, are acquiring an economic importance sufficient to menace the middleman.

The consumers' co-operative societies are of greater importance than the marketing societies on account of the purpose of the efforts made lately by the agricultural unions to confine the activities of the co-operative societies to such operations as will benefit the workers only. In the first instance it was the Japan Farmers' Union which in 1922 took up the question of the "perfecting of agricultural co-operation" at its inaugural meeting. An Industrial Co-operation Section was set up by this union after its third annual congress in 1924, when it declared for an autonomous marketing and buying organisation of peasants and workers. Although subsequently the Japan Farmers' Union split, and the two unions which were formed were hostile to one another, it is worthy of note that both these unions continued to uphold with enthusiasm the policy of maintaining co-operative societies which should admit only working farmers. When the two unions again came together in 1928 as a new National Farmers' Union (*Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai*) an even more definite policy than hitherto regarding the co-operative movement was adopted. At the annual congress of the Union held in 1929, it was decided to "make concrete plans for the co-operative

consumers' movement", the congress declaring that "the consumers' co-operative societies should be one wing of the movement for the emancipation of the proletariat".

Other unions of farmers and farm labourers have followed suit and co-operative stores of this type organised voluntarily — not in conformity with the Co-operative Societies Act — are rapidly coming into existence. The prefectures of Fukuoka, Yamanashi and Shimane are known to have the largest number of such co-operative societies. In the prefectures of Gumma, Yamagata, Saga, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagano, etc., the movement is also making headway but no accurate statistics are available.

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## CONCLUSION

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Before concluding this survey of industrial labour in Japan, it may be useful to consider briefly some of the problems which the study has revealed. These problems are to some extent peculiar to Japan, to some extent similar to those found in all growing industrial countries; but it is necessary in any case, in examining them, to bear in mind their special setting — the geographical, demographic and historical background.

The Empire of Japan has a coast line of great length in comparison with the land area, only a relatively small part of which is cultivable. On the other hand, the population is already dense and still increasing, and the relief of the pressure of population by emigration has been made impossible in recent years by the restriction of migration movements. The problem of the food supply is thus of foremost importance. It is being met, and the development of the country ensured, by maritime and industrial expansion. Industrial development is facilitated by the abundant labour supply, and the extension of shipping and overseas trade enables Japan to import the foodstuffs and raw materials which it needs.

Japan's firm and considered will to develop has dominated the history of the last seventy years. Up to the third quarter of the nineteenth century Japan was a self-contained feudal State, living within jealously guarded coasts a life unchanged by external contacts and evolving only within the framework of its ancient traditions and institutions. Fifty years later it had been transformed by the intelligence and enterprise of its rulers and people into a modern World Power. The extent of this transformation in the industrial sphere has been shown in this study by the statistics of growth of the industrial population, of capital, of production, of world trade, of shipping, etc. It is perhaps even more strikingly illustrated by the fact that when, in 1919,

it became necessary to determine the eight States of chief industrial importance entitled to permanent representation on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, Japan was found to be one of these eight States.

Nevertheless, in spite of the phenomenal character and the rapidity of the transformation of Japan, it has not been accompanied by such a revolutionary break with the traditions and customs of the past as was caused by the development of industry in some Western countries. Traditional, even feudal, influences are still very strong in the industrial life of Japan. Their vitality is nourished alike by the strong religious and moral ideas of the Japanese, and by the ancient forms of social organisation, particularly the "family system". The characteristics of this system, the manner in which both the mysticism and the organisation of the family are felt by the Japanese to bind all classes together in ties of kinship, have been described in the course of this study. Here it is only necessary to emphasise once more the importance of taking the family system into account in examining the problems of industrial labour in Japan. Its influence is seen in every direction : in the concentration of an important part of the capital of the country in the hands of a few great families, in the relations between employers and workers, in the methods of recruiting labour, in the various forms of remuneration of workers, in the extent to which welfare institutions have been developed, etc.; and out of this influence arises a fundamental problem for the future of industrial organisation in Japan.

This problem may be stated as being whether the future industrial organisation of Japan is to be evolved in conflict between the traditional influences and ideas — especially the family system — and the new ideas and institutions which in Japan as in most other countries have accompanied the growth of modern industry, or whether means can be developed of integrating the new institutions in the traditional Japanese social organisation.

The importance of this question is fully realised in Japan, although very differing opinions are held regarding the solution. One extreme view is that the existence of the family system renders industrial associations and State intervention in the determination of standards of labour conditions unnecessary. Those who hold this view believe that labour questions could and should be solved by humane and paternalistic relations between employers and workers, and that the influence of the family spirit could be

trusted to secure satisfactory conditions of labour. At the other extreme are the views of those who have been most strongly influenced by radical social and political theories, and who see the future Japan as a State transformed in accordance with the laws of Marxian economics. Between these extremes, however, are many shades of opinion as to the part that the family spirit can play in the organisation of Japanese industry, and the extent to which it must give way before the influence of institutions universally characteristic of industrial communities.

It would be hazardous to attempt to forecast the probable lines of development of Japanese industrial organisation. At present there is conflict, exemplified by the resistance to trade union expansion and the opposition to social legislation, although the existence of such resistance and opposition in other countries would tend to show that the traditional reasons therefor are often only pretexts. On the other hand, there are factors working for integration. For many years past the *Kyochō-kai* (Association for harmonising the relations between capital and labour) has been working in the traditional spirit of service for the development of friendly co-operation between workers and employers, and it has not neglected the necessity and importance of industrial associations and labour legislation. Still more significant, since its establishment was only made possible by the existence of powerful associations of employers and workers, is the joint organisation of shipowners and seamen, the *Kaiji kyōdō kai*, which is entrusted with the working of the seamen's employment exchange system set up by Japan in accordance with the Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen. The substitution of co-operative methods in the working of welfare institutions for the unilateral action of the employer is another example of this tendency.

But whatever may be the extent to which the spirit of the traditional forms of Japanese social relations, or these forms themselves, may be preserved in the future industrial organisation of the country, there can be no doubt of the ever-increasing importance of the part that has to be played by industrial associations of the "Western" type and by social legislation. The last decade has seen a remarkable development of trade unions and employers' associations, and it is of interest to note that it was possible, in the final revision of the chapters of this study dealing with these organisations, to record definite advances towards the



constitution of strong central federations, both of employers and workers. Equally, there has been steady development of labour legislation, particularly for the protection of women and juvenile workers.

The development of industrial relations of the "Western" type is, however, still in an early stage. There is collective bargaining, but it is still very restricted in scope, and it is noteworthy that as yet very few collective agreements have been concluded in Japan. The persistence of relations of paternalism between employers and workers, particularly in the smaller undertakings and in the important textile industry, is not the only cause of this situation. It has also to be remembered that, in spite of the rapid urbanisation of the country, factory labour is still drawn in a considerable degree from the rural population, especially as regards the young women who form the bulk of the workers in textile mills. Another cause is undoubtedly to be found in the great diversity of the trade unions, the local character of many unions, and their tendency to divide on political and other non-trade union issues.

The successful development of collective bargaining in Japan would appear indeed to require action alike by the State, the employers and the workers. The right of association is guaranteed by the Constitution, but the workers feel the need for statutory recognition also and attach great importance to the passage of a Trade Union Act. It is felt that, unless and until trade unionism is specifically legalised, collective bargaining will remain a precarious procedure and there will be no guarantee of regular and orderly relations between employers and workers. The legal regulation and recognition of collective agreements may also be found necessary. On the part of the employers will be needed the recognition that the traditional relations of paternalism must be substituted or at least supplemented by collective bargaining through the medium of vigorous and well-established industrial associations. Finally, there must be on the part of the workers a greater realisation of the vital importance of unity and of concentration on the building up of strong and stable trade unions, directed to trade union purposes and freed from the constant danger of splitting on differences of ideology. In this connection it is interesting to note the influence exercised on the development and consolidation of Japanese trade unionism by the necessity of reaching agreement on the choice of

workers' delegates and advisers to attend the International Labour Conference.

The continuous progress made in the passage of labour legislation has already been mentioned, and here again it is possible to record the influence of the International Labour Organisation. Not only have the Conventions ratified by Japan exercised a formative influence on her labour legislation, but provisions of Conventions which it has not yet been considered possible to ratify have been embodied in Japanese law. The field of application of the factory legislation has been progressively widened, and the detailed provisions of both factory and mining laws and regulations have been elaborated and extended. The machinery for finding employment for workers both on land and sea has been revised by legislation in accordance with the International Conventions ratified by Japan. In addition, an industrial conciliation procedure has been created by legislation, and a health insurance system is working under the provisions of the Health Insurance Act.

It is in regard to the protection of women and juvenile workers that Japanese legislation has gone furthest in the direction of the standards laid down in the International Conventions. In accordance with the minimum age provisions of the relevant Conventions, which Japan has ratified, the minimum age for admission to employment at sea is fourteen years; it is also fourteen years on land in the undertakings covered by the factory legislation, subject to the possibility of employing children of twelve years of age who have passed through the full elementary school courses. Japan has also ratified and applied the other maritime Conventions dealing with juvenile labour. As regards the night work of women and young persons employed in industry, the law is now in accord with the Conventions save in respect of its field of application and certain possibilities of making exceptions. The provisions of the law which deal with the protection of women in childbirth have also been brought near to the standard of the Washington Maternity Convention. There would seem, therefore, to be every ground for the hope that, within the next few years, Japan will have been able to ratify all the International Conventions relating to women and juvenile workers. Finally, it should be mentioned that Japan has taken action in a matter which has not been the subject of international legislation, and has decreed the prohibition, after September 1933, of the

employment of women and young persons under sixteen years of age underground in mines, subject to the possibility of exceptions for coal mines where the seams are thin.

One of the principal problems of factory legislation would appear to be that of its extension to include smaller undertakings in the field of application. At present only undertakings employing ten or more workers, or classified as dangerous undertakings, are covered by this legislation. Small factories, however, are of great importance in the industrial economy of Japan, as it is in undertakings employing from about five to ten workers that many of the small fancy goods exported by Japan are made. Objections to the extension of the factory laws to include such undertakings are based partly on the difficulty and expense of application, and partly on the ground that it is unnecessary to intervene in the relations between employers and workers, since the traditional spirit of kinship ensures reasonably satisfactory conditions of labour. On the other hand, it is urged that sanitary and other conditions of labour in these small factories are generally below the legal standards for other undertakings, and that regulation is both desirable and necessary.

As affecting the workers generally, the biggest problems in Japan, as in other countries, are those of hours of work and wages. At present, only the working hours of women and juvenile workers are limited generally, the legal limitation of the hours of work of men being confined to work underground in mines. In addition, the statutory hours of work for miners, women and juveniles are longer than those proposed for Japan in the special clause of the Washington Hours Convention, which Japan has not ratified. However, it may be noted that one of the effects of the industrial depression has been the temporary reduction of working hours, especially in the textile industry, to the level of the Hours Convention or even below it, and it may be hoped that the experience of shorter working hours may assist the authorities to decide on the legal limitation of hours of work in accordance with international standards.

Closely allied to the question of hours is that of the weekly rest day. The special Article in the Hours Convention applicable to Japan provided for a weekly day of rest for all classes of workers. No legislative action has yet been taken in this direction, however, and the details given in this study show considerable diversity of practice in regard to rest days, which are rarely

weekly. It must, of course, be observed that the weekly rest day has no sanction in Japanese custom, but there has been a tendency towards the extension of rest days which will no doubt lead to the adoption of legal standards in the near future.

Apart from some legal provisions relating to their payment, wages have not yet been dealt with in Japanese legislation. As the statistics given in the chapter on wages show, money wages are often supplemented by facilities of different kinds, and the various bonuses, which are often held in Japan to have a welfare character but which nevertheless appear to be by custom a definite part of the terms of employment, form a not unimportant part of wages. These matters and the allied question of deferred pay and savings arrangements will no doubt need legislative adjustment, though at present there would not appear to be any demand for action on the part of the workers except for the legal regulation of the practice of granting "discharge allowances". Here again, it appears necessary, in considering the bewildering variety of supplementary wages, to remember the influence of traditional manners in Japan.

It has been no part of the purpose of this study to compare the wages paid in Japan with those of other countries. Such a comparison would, indeed, be extremely difficult in view of the impossibility of establishing tables of real wages owing to the absence of a satisfactory cost-of-living index. Considered in terms of money alone, and even in relation to such information regarding the international purchasing power of money in Japan as is available, wages would appear to be low. But in order that real wages in Japan may be properly estimated and compared with those of other countries, it would be very desirable that more complete cost-of-living figures should be compiled and published at frequent intervals. Such information would also be of great value to employers, workers, and to the administrative authorities in Japan, and would in particular be useful in examining the question of the need for establishing minimum wage fixing machinery.

Another important group of problems are those of social insurance. Japan already has a health insurance system, the adapted extension of which to seamen has been for some time under consideration. The system of workmen's compensation for accidents, the principles of which are laid down in the Factory Act and regulations, and the corresponding provisions of

the mining legislation, have also been considerably extended in recent years both as regards the accidents which give title to compensation and the classes of workers covered. Moreover, the legal requirements are supplemented by voluntary action by the employers and mutual aid. The accident rates seem to be high, however, especially in mines, and although increasing attention is being given to safety, there might be an advantage in approaching this problem from the angle of extended compensation arrangements, whether by the introduction of accident insurance or otherwise, as well as from that of the legal regulations regarding safety. Incidentally, it may be noted that the morbidity rates seem to be high, according to the not very recent information available, which has been included in this study in the absence of more recent data.

It has already been mentioned that considerable numbers of workers, especially the young women who form the bulk of the workers in the textile industry, are recruited at a distance and from the rural population. This fact gives rise to two problems: the methods of recruiting and the dormitory system, both of which have been the subject of regulations. The recruiting regulations, however, do not deal with a practice that has been held to involve in some cases the restriction of the personal liberty of the workers concerned, i.e. the system of loans or advances on wages. The incentive to take employment in the case of many young women workers is stated to be the desire and the customary obligation to aid their parents, and it is the practice of recruiters to make loans or advances of wages to the parents which are sometimes such that the repayment of the loan or advance can only be accomplished by a long period of service. This problem is not peculiar to Japan, and has been dealt with in some other countries by the legal restriction of the amounts of loans and advances, a restriction which has been found to be necessary in order to prevent the loan system from acting as a cause of debt servitude.

Many conflicting opinions have been expressed regarding the dormitory system. The system arose from the need of housing workers recruited at a distance from the place of employment, and the restrictions placed on the freedom of movement of the young women workers mainly concerned have obvious grounds of justification. Moreover, it would appear from the evidence given in this volume that conditions in the dormitories are

satisfactory, at any rate in the case of the larger undertakings. Nevertheless, the limitations of personal liberty involved have appeared excessive to some observers, and the question of combining the advantages of the system with a greater degree of freedom of movement will no doubt continue to be examined.

As the chapter on unemployment has shown, this problem is one of grave concern in Japan as in other industrial countries. In spite of the relatively recent constitution of the urban working populations, contact with the land has in many cases been lost. Moreover, and it is here that the restrictions on Japanese migration affect the unemployment problem most directly, the agricultural districts are overcrowded and the populations impoverished, so that they are unable to absorb the unemployed, to whose numbers, on the contrary, they add from their own surplus. The Japanese Government has endeavoured to alleviate unemployment by the organisation of free public employment exchanges and by promoting public works and expanding exports; unemployment insurance does not, however, yet appear to have been contemplated. Nevertheless, whatever success such measures may have, they cannot solve the problem, since even if the present crisis is overcome the ranks of the unemployed are increased by technological unemployment (displacement of man-power by machinery), which goes hand in hand with the development of modern industry. The Japanese Government will therefore find it necessary to give attention to the possibilities which are now being discussed in all industrial countries of spreading the available employment over a larger number of workers. It remains, however, very doubtful how far such measures, even were they supplemented by birth control, which has not yet found wide favour in Japan, could meet the problem of pressure of population. The question of obtaining facilities for the emigration of its surplus population is thus likely to continue to be of the utmost importance for Japan.

The last part of this study dealt with the welfare institutions of Japan, workers' education and co-operation. The development of welfare institutions is one of the most characteristic features of Japanese industrial organisation, and, as was emphasised above, the influence of the traditional Japanese conceptions of social relations is here particularly noticeable. No doubt the definition of welfare work will seem to Western readers to be widely drawn, and many of the things left to welfare schemes are prescribed by

law, custom or agreement in other industrial communities. It seems probable that in Japan evolution will be in the direction of the regulation by statute or collective agreement of some matters, such as the forms of supplementary wages, now classified as welfare institutions. However, the system is unquestionably a humanising factor in Japanese industry, and, with the development of the workers' participation in the organisation of welfare, it seems calculated to exercise a useful influence in the integration of the new forms of industrial relations in the traditional framework of Japanese society.

Finally, it will be noted that the general educational system has been developed to a remarkable extent, and that specifically workers' education institutions are being actively promoted. The same observation is true of co-operation. Up to the present co-operation has developed most extensively amongst farmers and small shopkeepers, and the results achieved with Government support by co-operative credit societies are most encouraging. With the increasing interest of industrial workers in co-operation and workers' education, these forms of social activity seem destined to play an important part in the life of the working people of Japan.

In reviewing, in this Conclusion, the main problems which seem to emerge from the study of industrial labour in Japan, it has been seen that in two essential respects the International Labour Organisation has been a powerful factor on the side of progress : in providing as it were a nucleus around which the trade union movement has been able to grow and consolidate, and in furnishing by its Conventions some part of the impetus and direction of the evolution of labour legislation in Japan. In both these respects the Organisation has exercised a normalising and salutary influence on the industrial life of Japan. It is impossible to read the story told in this volume of the confusion and conflict — with all their inherent dangers — in the early development of trade unionism in Japan, especially if the reader calls to mind the history of trade unionism in European countries, without realising the importance and advantage, both for the workers and the nation, of any influence which makes for unity, rational concentration on the proper purposes of industrial associations, and the growth of the sense of responsibility. It is equally impossible for those who have studied the industrial history of European countries to under-estimate the importance of any

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influence which, by raising the standards of conditions of labour, contributes at once to the peaceful and orderly development and to the efficiency of industry.

Perhaps in the future the usefulness of the Organisation to Japan and to the other countries of Asia can be increased. Among the problems of a more special character which have been mentioned in these pages are some which, *mutatis mutandis*, arise also in other lands of Asia. Their special treatment, both by study, by discussion and eventually by decision of the International Labour Conference, would be of signal service to the progress and stability of the rapidly evolving Asiatic countries.

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## **APPENDICES**



## APPENDIX I

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### CONSPECTUS OF JAPANESE LABOUR LAWS

- I. General provisions relating to labour.
- II. Laws regulating factory work.
- III. Laws regulating mining work.
- IV. Laws regulating maritime work.
- V. Laws regulating employment exchanges and recruitment of labour.
- VI. Laws regulating health insurance.
- VII. Laws regulating workmen's compensation.
- VIII. Laws regulating conciliation of labour disputes.
- IX. Miscellaneous laws (co-operation, migration, labour statistics, etc.)<sup>1</sup>.

#### I. — GENERAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO LABOUR

*Civil Code*, 1896.

Act No. 89 of 1 April 1896, enforced from 1 July 1898. Book III.  
Chapter II: Contract. Part 8: Employment (623-631).

#### II. — LAWS REGULATING FACTORY WORK

(1) *Factory Act*, 1911 (L.S., 1923, Jap. I, Appendix).

Act No. 46 of 28 March 1911, enforced from 1 September 1916. Scope of application and exceptions (1); minimum age of employment and exceptions (2); working hours of women and young persons, overtime permitted for fifteen years (3); prohibition of nightwork and exceptions (4-6); holidays, rest-hours and shifts (7); exceptions regarding hours of work, nightwork, holidays, etc., in cases of natural calamity, unavoidable or temporary necessity and busy seasons (8); dangerous and unhygienic work prohibited to women and young persons (9-11); protection of maternity and sick persons (12); hygiene, morality and public welfare (13); factory inspection (14); compensation for injury, sickness and death (15); apprentices, employment and discharge of workers and employment agencies (16-17); factory manager (18-19); punitive rules (20-

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<sup>1</sup> The above classification of labour laws has been made entirely arbitrarily. Often the laws apply to various kinds of work. Thus, for example, both the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act, classified here under "factory work" and the Ordinance for the relief of State workers classified under "Laws regulating workmen's compensation" apply to factory as well as mining labour. As far as the texts have been published by the International Labour Office in the *Legislative Series*, they are indicated with their serial number in each case immediately after the title of the law. The small figures in parentheses denote the sections of the law referred to.

22) : appeal and administrative litigation (23) ; application of the Act to factories employing motive power (24) ; application of the Act to State-owned factories (25). Date of enforcement (Additional rule).

(2) *Ordinance for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1916* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 1 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 193 of 2 August 1916, enforced from 1 September 1916. Chapter I: general provisions (1-3) ; factories exempted from the application of the Act (1-2) ; dangerous or unhealthy work to which the Act applies regardless of the number of operatives engaged (3). Chapter II: relief to workers and their surviving family (4-20) ; compensation for injury, sickness or death (4) ; employers' liability in case of injury or sickness of workers (5, 14-17) ; absence allowance when the absence from work is due to medical treatment (6, 13) ; rate of compensation for various degrees of injury (7) ; family benefit in case of death of worker (8) ; funeral expenses (9) ; recipients of family benefit (10-12) ; control of compensation by local governor (18-19) ; compensation in State-owned factories (20). Chapter III: employment and discharge of workers and employment agencies (21-27) ; name list of workers (21) ; wage payment (22-23) ; workers' savings (24-25) ; education of young workers (26) ; repatriation expenses (27). Chapter IV: apprenticeship (28-32) ; conditions for taking apprentices (28-29) ; hygiene and safety for female or young apprentices (30) ; official supervision (31-32). Chapter V: punitive rules (33-36) ; additional rules, on the date of enforcement, temporary exemptions from the application of the Act, etc. (1-6)

(3) *Regulations for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1916* (L.S., 1923, Jap. 1 C)

Ordinance of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, No. 19 of 3 August 1916, enforced from 1 September 1916. "Motive power" defined (1) ; powers of local governor (2) ; longer working hours for mechanical filature, cotton spinning and certain mills for silk weaving for export (3) ; long hours or suspension of rest days controlled (4) ; dangerous work defined (5) ; unhealthy work defined (6) ; sickness barred from employment (8) ; maternity period defined (9) ; works regulations and wage payment (12) ; relief and medical diagnosis (13-14) ; serious injuries and accidents requiring report to the authorities (25-26) ; punitive rules (30) ; date of enforcement and transitory rules (37-42).

(4) *Factory Act Amendment Act, 1923* (L.S., 1923, Jap. 1).

Act No. 33 of 29 March 1923, enforced from 1 September 1926. The amendments made by the new Act are incorporated in the text of the original Factory Act of 1911 and are indicated by italicised letters in the Legislative Series. Important amendments relate to: scope of application (1) ; minimum age rule deleted (2) ; working hours and age limit of young persons (3) ; night work (4) ; delay of fifteen years for the application of the rules deleted (5-6) ; rest days (7) ; exceptions for substances liable to deteriorate rapidly (8) ; age limit of young persons employable for dangerous or unhygienic work (9-11) ; maternity protection (12) ; instructions to workers and apprentices regarding hygiene, morality and public welfare (13) ; medical inspection (14) ; claim for compensation (15) ; punitive rules (20-21) ; additional rules.

(5) *Amended Ordinance for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 1 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 153 of 5 June 1926, enforced from 1 September 1926. The amendments made by this Ordinance are incorporated in

the text of the original Ordinance of 1916 and are indicated by italicised letters in the *Legislative Series*. Important amendments relate to : dangerous or unhealthy work to which the Act applies regardless of the number of operatives engaged (3) ; amount of absence allowance (6) ; workmen's compensation (7) ; exemption from employer's liability (7bis) ; scope and amounts of family benefit (9-12) ; relation to the health insurance scheme (13bis-14) ; wages calculation for granting allowances (16) ; payment of a fortnight's wages in case of immediate dismissal of worker (27bis) ; works regulations compulsory in factories with fifty or more operatives (27quater) ; punitive rules (33).

- (6) *Amended Regulations for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 1 C).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 13 of 7 June 1926, enforced from 1 September 1926. The amendments made by these Regulations are incorporated in the text of the original Regulations of 1916 and are indicated by italicised letters in the *Legislative Series*. Important amendments relate to : limits on long working hours for mechanical filatures and certain mills for silk weaving for export (3) ; long hours or suspension of rest days controlled (4) ; wide notification of works regulations and modes of wage payment (12-12bis) ; control of dismissal of workers (19) ; reports required on serious injuries and accidents (25-26).

- (7) *Act to amend the Factory Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 1 A).

Act No. 21 of 27 March 1929, enforced from 1 September 1929. The amendment, by revising section 24 only, empowers the competent Minister to apply the limitation of working hours of women and young persons (3), prohibition of night work (4) ; holidays and rest periods (7) ; etc., beside the other limitations already applicable by the existing provisions, to factories using motive power regardless of the number of operatives engaged, provided, however, that the working hours as limited by section 3 may be prolonged by one hour till 1 September 1931.

- (8) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 1 B).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 16 of 13 May 1929, enforced from 1 September 1929. The amendment, by adding a new section 27 to the original Regulations, subjects the factories which employ motive power and are engaged in weaving or doubling, regardless of the number of operatives engaged, to the application of sections 3, 4, 7, 8, 14 and 18-23 of the Factory Act and of sections 2, 4, 11, 12 (paragraph 2), 21 and 22 of the Regulations.

- (9) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 1 C).

Imperial Ordinance No. 202 of 25 June 1929, enforced from 1 July 1929. The amendment, by revising section 9, has raised the amount of the funeral benefit and also by revising section 27, brought the Ordinance into harmony with the Health Insurance Act regarding repatriation of the worker.

- (10) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Factory Act, 1930* (L.S., 1930, Jap. 2).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 24 of 24 June 1930, enforced from 1 July 1930. This is an amendment to the amendment of 1926. By deleting the words "manufacture of silk thread by machinery" from section 3, the law subjects that process of work to a strict application

of the limits of working hours of the Factory Act, section 3, as from 1 July 1930 instead of 31 August 1931, except where the workers are divided into two or more shifts and working alternately.

(11) *Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act*<sup>1</sup>, 1923 (L.S., 1923, Jap. 2).

Act No. 34 of 29 March 1923, enforced from 1 July 1926. "Industry" defined (1); minimum age of employment and exceptions (2); register of young workers under sixteen years of age (3); inspection of workplaces (4); free grant of certificate of census register (5); punitive rules (6-10).

(12) *Regulations for the Administration of the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act*, 1926.

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 14, of 7 June 1926, enforced from 1 July 1926. "Administrative authorities" defined (1); register of workers (2); inspector's certificate (3); transitory and punitive rules (additional rules).

(13) *Regulations for the Dormitories attached to Factories*, 1927 (L.S., 1927, Jap. 2).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 26 of 6 April 1927, enforced from 1 July 1927; except sections 4 and 13 enforced from 1 July 1928; sections 2, 7, 8 and 12 from 1 July 1929 and sections 6 and 9-11 from 1 July 1930. Scope of application of the Regulations (1); cases where a building separate from the factory is required for bedrooms (2); bedrooms not allowed above the third floor (3); doors to open outside (4); height of rooms (5); ceiling required (6); requirements for windows (7); earthen floor forbidden (8); floor space of bedrooms (9); maximum number of occupants per bedroom (10); bedrooms for workers working in shifts (11); bedding accommodation (12); stools in dining rooms (13); table ware (14); persons suffering from certain diseases barred from employment in dormitories (15); medical examination of inmates (16); spittoons (17); washing accommodation (18); disinfection (19); latrines and wash-basins (20); rules for management of dormitory controlled officially (21); affixing of the rules for public notice (22); exceptions (23); dates of enforcement (additional rules).

(14) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Dormitories attached to Factories*, 1929 (L.S., 1929, Jap. 5).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 36 of 23 August 1929, enforced from 1 September 1929, except section 3bis enforced from 1 September 1931. Amendments relate to: scope of application (1); detailed requirements about staircases for fire-escape purposes in buildings where not less than fifteen workers are regularly accommodated in bedrooms (3bis, i-ix); proper signs required for staircases, passages, etc. (3ter); dates of enforcement (additional rules).

(15) *Prohibition of White Phosphorus Matches Act*, 1921 (L.S., 1921, Jap. 5).

Act No. 61 of 9 April 1921, enforced from 1 July 1922. Prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches (1); prohibition of the use, sale, importation, etc. (2); official inspection (3); punitive rules (4-7); date of enforcement (additional rule).

<sup>1</sup> This Act applies not only to factory work but also to mining, constructional and building work, transportation of goods or passengers and handling of goods at docks and wharves.

- (16) *Regulations for Accident Prevention and Hygiene in Factories*, 1929 (L.S., 1929, Jap. 4).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 24 of 20 June 1929, enforced from 1 September 1929 except sections 16, 28 (paragraph 1) and 38 which have been enforced from 1 September 1930. Certain safety or hygienic accommodations existing at the time the Regulations went into effect also allowed to remain unchanged for one or two years. Scope of application (1); fencing or covering on motors (2); belts connected with motors (3); couplings, clutches, etc., with screws, bolts or nuts (4); fly-wheels (5); belts connected with fly-wheel (6); oiling arrangement (7); brake on motor (8); signal for starting motor-operation (9); fence or cover on machines moved by motor (10); arrangement preventing the access to certain machines unless their motion is stopped (11); brake on each machine operated by motor (12); brake on certain rollers (13); cap and over-all required (14); fencing at the entrance to elevator and other similar dangerous spots (15); safety appliances for ladders (16); passage space between machines (17); signs at dangerous places (18-19); explosive and inflammable substances (20-23); fire escapes and exits (24-25); "no admittance" to certain dangerous places (26-27); dangers of gas, steam, etc. (28-30); lighting (31); first-aid equipments (32); cleanliness of dining room and vessels (33); separate dressing and bathrooms for men and women (34); discretion of the local governor for other precautions (35); punitive rule (36); dates of enforcement (additional rule).

### III. — LAWS REGULATING MINING WORK

- (1) *Mining Act*, 1905 (L.S., 1924, Jap. 2, Footnote).

Act No. 45 of 1 March 1905, enforced from 1 July 1905. Chapter I: general provisions; "mining" defined (1); "miner" defined (8). Chapter IV: mining police (71-74). Chapter V (75-80): miners, rules of employment supervised (75); miners' list (76); discharge certificate (77); wage payment (78); age and hours of work of miners, limitations on employment of women and young persons to be regulated (79); workmen's compensation (80). Chapter VIII: punitive rules (97-100).

- (2) *Regulations for the Employment and Relief of Miners*, 1916 (L.S., 1926, Jap. 2 B).

Ordinance of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce No. 21 of 3 August 1916, enforced from 1 September 1916. Concerning the rules of employment and labour of miners (1, 36-38); suspension of the rules (2); miners' name list (3); record of discharges and deaths of miners (4); minimum age of miners (5); working hours of women and young persons (6); night work of women and young persons (7-8); rest period and holidays for women and young persons (9-10, 35); exceptions in case of natural calamity (11); dangerous or unhygienic work of women and young persons (12-13); protection of sick persons and women after childbirth (14-15); compensation for injury, sickness and death of miners (17-34, 39-42); date of enforcement and transitory and punitive rules (43-47).

- (3) *Mining Police Regulations*, 1916.

Ordinance of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, No. 22 of 3 August 1916, enforced from 1 September 1916. Sections 1-77.



(4) *Mining Act Amendment Act, 1924 (L.S., 1924, Jap. 2).*

Act No. 22 of 22 July 1924, enforced from 1 July 1926<sup>1</sup>. Under the Amendment Act, with the revised section 80, the workmen's compensation may be given to any person who was dependent on the earnings of the deceased at the time of the death of the miner. Also the words "without serious fault of his own" have been deleted.

(5) *Amended Regulations for the Employment and Relief of Miners, 1926 (L.S., 1926, Jap. 2 B).*

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 17 of 24 June 1926, enforced from 1 July 1926. The amendments made by this Ordinance are incorporated in the text of the original Regulations of 1916 and are indicated by italicised letters. Important amendments relate to: rules of employment of miners (1); register of miners (2); minimum age rule deleted (5); working hours of women and young workers (6); hours underground (new 6bis); maternity protection (15-16); absence allowance (19); compensation rates (20-22); person, frequency and other conditions for the payment of compensation (25-26); rules brought in harmony with the Health Insurance Act (26bis-29); date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

(6) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Employment and Relief of Miners, 1928 (L.S., 1928, Jap. 1).*

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 30 of 1 September 1928, enforced from the date of promulgation. Important amendments relate to: limit of underground work for all miners regardless of age or sex (5); prohibition of night work of women and young persons, with three years' delay (7 and additional rule); permission to work longer hours till 11 p.m. or 12 mid-night (7, paragraphs 2, 3 and 4); calculation of time in pit (7bis); exceptions on hours of work in case of temporary necessity occasioned by an actual or imminent danger or unavoidable cause (11); underground work prohibited to women and young persons and exceptions (11bis); three years' delay for the above rule (additional rule); punitive rules (38).

(7) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Employment and Relief of Miners, 1929 (L.S., 1929, Jap. 3).*

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 25 of 26 June 1929, enforced from 1 July 1929. The amendment, by revising section 22, has raised the amount of funeral benefit.

IV. — LAWS REGULATING MARITIME WORK<sup>2</sup>(1) *Commercial Code, 1899<sup>3</sup>.*

Act No. 48 of 9 February 1899, enforced from 16 June 1899<sup>3</sup>. Book V: merchant marine. Chapter II: mariners. Division 1: the master (558-575). Division 2: seamen (576-589).

(2) *Mariners' Act, 1899<sup>2</sup>.*

Act No. 47 of 9 February 1899, enforced from 16 June 1899. Chapter I:

<sup>1</sup> The Amendment Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 199 of 23 June 1926 (cf. L.S., 1926, Jap. 2 A).

<sup>2</sup> For the English translation of the laws IV, 1-4, see *Seamen's Articles of Agreement*, published by the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, Studies and Reports, Series P, No. 1, pp. 744-769.

<sup>3</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 133 of 1899.

general provisions (1-2). Chapter II: mariners' service-book (3-12). Chapter III: the master (13-25). Chapter IV: seamen (26-35). Chapter V: discipline (36-45). Chapter VI: punitive rules (46-74). Additional, transitory rules (75-80).

(3) *Regulations for the Administration of the Mariners' Act, 1899*<sup>1</sup>.

Ordinance of the Department of Communication, No. 25 of 16 June 1899, enforced from the date of promulgation. Chapter I: general provisions (1-4). Chapter II: mariners' service book (5-12). Chapter III: the master (13-24). Chapter IV: seamen (25-48). Chapter V: fees (49-50). Chapter VI: punitive rules (51). Transitory rules (52-62).

(4) *Mariners' Punishment Act, 1896*<sup>1</sup>.

Act No. 69 of 1 April 1896, enforced from 1 July 1897. Chapter I: general provisions (1-7). Chapter II: organisation and jurisdiction of the Maritime Court (8-14). Chapter III: procedure prior to trial (15-18). Chapter IV: trial at the Local Maritime Court (19-38). Chapter V: trial at the Higher Maritime Court (39-43). Chapter VI: execution (44-45). Chapter VII: punitive rules (46-47); transitory rules (48-50).

(5) *Seamen's Minimum Age and Health Certificate Act, 1923* (L.S., 1923, Jap. 3).

Act. No. 35 of 29 March 1923, enforced from 15 December 1923<sup>2</sup>. Scope of application of the Act (1); minimum age limit and exceptions (2); health certificate for seamen under the age of eighteen (3); register of seamen under eighteen (4); inspection of vessels (5); free issue of certificate of census register (6); punitive rules (7-9); transitory rules (additional rules).

(6) *Ordinance concerning Seamen's Minimum Age and Health Certificate, 1923* (L.S., 1923, Jap. 4 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 482 of 19 November 1923, enforced from 15 December 1923. The Ordinance exempts vessels below certain capacity or tonnage from the application of certain Articles (3, 4, etc.) of the above Act (1-3).

(7) *Regulations for the Administration of the Seamen's Minimum Age and Health Certificate Act, 1923* (L.S., 1923, Jap. 2 D).

Ordinance of the Department of Communication, No. 96 of 20 November 1923, enforced from 15 December 1923. Details for receiving permission for employing children under fourteen years of age (1-2); health certificate (3-5); register of seamen under eighteen (6); other details (7-10); date of enforcement and transitory rules.

(8) *Act to Amend the Seamen's Minimum Age and Health Certificate Act, 1927* (L.S., 1927, Jap. 3).

Act No. 2 of 23 February 1927, enforced from 20 February 1928<sup>3</sup>. By this Act, the title of the original Act has been changed to the "Minimum Age Act for Seamen". By adding a new section (2bis), eighteen years has been fixed as the minimum age for trimmers or stokers; exceptions for vessels in ports where persons not less than eighteen years are not

<sup>1</sup> For the English translation of the laws IV, 1-4, see *Seamen's Articles of Agreement*, published by the INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, Studies and Reports, Series P, No. 1, pp. 744-769.

<sup>2</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 481 of 19 November 1923 (cf. L.S., 1923, Jap. 4 A).

<sup>3</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 12 of 10 February 1928 (cf. L.S., 1928, Jap. 2 A).

available ; for vessels plying exclusively between Japanese ports and vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam or school-ships.

- (9) *Amended Ordinance for the Administration of the Minimum Age Act for Seamen*, 1928 (L.S., 1928, Jap. 2 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 13 of 10 February 1928, enforced from 20 February 1928. This Ordinance, by revising sections 1, 2 and 3 only, has brought the original Ordinance of 1923 into harmony with the Amendment Act of 1927.

- (10) *Amended Regulations for the Administration of the Minimum Age Act for Seamen*, 1928 (L.S., 1928, Jap. 2 D).

Ordinance of the Department of Communication No. 6 of 13 February 1928, enforced from 20 February 1928. The amendments made by this Ordinance are incorporated in the text of the original Ordinance of 1923 and are indicated by italicised letters in the *Legislative Series*. The amendment, by adding a new section (2bis), limits the employment of trimmers or stokers under eighteen years of age on vessels plying only between Japanese ports, to vessels of a gross tonnage not exceeding 2,000 tons. Amendments in other sections are slight verbal modifications to bring the Regulations into harmony with the Amendment Act of 1927.

#### V. — LAWS REGULATING EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES AND RECRUITMENT OF LABOUR

- (1) *Employment Exchanges Act*, 1921 (L.S., 1921, Jap. 1-4).

Act No. 55 of 8 April 1921, enforced from 1 July 1921, except sections 7 and 12 which were put into operation as from 1 April 1923<sup>1</sup>. Employment exchanges established by city, town or village (1-4) ; exchanges established by other bodies (5) ; employment exchanges to be free of charge (6) ; central and local boards of employment exchanges (7) ; employment exchange commissions (8) ; expenses of the exchanges and the State subvention (9-10) ; co-ordination supervision and control of the work (11-13) ; fee-charging or profit-making employment agencies (14) ; other rules (15) ; date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

- (2) *Ordinance for the Administration of the Employment Exchanges Act*, 1921 (L.S., 1921, Jap. 3).

Imperial Ordinance No. 292 of 28 June 1921, enforced from 1 July 1921<sup>2</sup>. Cities, towns and villages which may be ordered by the Minister of the Interior to set up employment exchanges (1) ; State subvention (2) ; loaning of travelling expenses to the persons placed by the exchanges (3) ; other rules (4-5) , date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

- (3) *Regulations for the Administration of the Employment Exchanges Act*, 1921 (L.S., 1921, Jap. 4).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior. No. 16 of 29 June 1921, enforced from 1 July 1921<sup>3</sup>. Report of the mayor of city, town or village

<sup>1</sup> Imperial Ordinance No. 291 of 28 June 1921 (cf. L.S., 1921, Jap. 2). Also Imperial Ordinance No. 106 of 31 March 1923 (cf. L.S., 1925, ap. 1, Appendix i).

<sup>2</sup> Slightly modified by Imperial Ordinance No. 108 of 31 March 1923, enforced from 1 April 1923. Amendment consists in substituting the words "the prefectural governor" for "the chief of the local employment exchange board" in section 4 (cf. L.S., 1925, Jap. 1, Appendix iii).

<sup>3</sup> Slightly modified by Imperial Ordinance No. 9 of 31 March 1923, enforced from 1 April 1923. The amendment consists chiefly in bringing the Regulations into harmony with the amended Imperial Ordinance No. 108 of 1923 (L.S., 1925, Jap. 1, Appendix iv).

to the chief of the Local Board of Employment Exchanges (1) ; control and co-ordination of the work of the exchanges (2-5, 9-22) ; employment exchange commission (6-8) ; reports for every ten days, month and three months (23) ; abolition of employment exchanges (24) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (4) *Ordinance concerning the Organisation of the Employment Exchange Boards, 1923*<sup>1</sup> (L.S., 1925, Jap. 1, Appendix ii).

Imperial Ordinance No. 107 of 31 March 1923, enforced from 1 April 1923. Functions of the Employment Exchange Boards (1) ; central and local boards (2-4) ; staff (5-7) ; supervision of the work (8-10) ; date of enforcement (additional rules).

- (5) *Ordinance concerning the Organisation of the Employment Exchange Commissions, 1924* (L.S., 1924, Jap. 1).

Imperial Ordinance No. 20 of 20 February 1924, enforced from the date of promulgation. Functions of the commissions (1) ; central and district commissions (2-3) ; composition and appointment of the commissions (4-6) ; term of office (7) ; chairman (8) ; secretaries (9-10) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (6) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Administration of the Employment Exchanges Act, 1925* (L.S., 1925, Jap. 1 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 240 of 24 June 1925, enforced from the date of promulgation. The Ordinance, by adding two new paragraphs to section 3 of the original Ordinance of 1921, authorises cities, towns or villages to advance from their moneys the wages of the workers employed through public employment exchanges.

- (7) *Regulations for the Control of Profit-Making Employment Exchanges, 1925* (L.S., 1925, Jap. 1 C).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 3997 of 19 December 1925, enforced from 1 January 1927. Definition of terms employed (1) ; control by the local police and the local governor (2) ; persons in certain trades barred from engaging in profit-making exchange business (3) ; staff of the exchanges controlled (4) ; discrimination imposed on profit-making exchanges (5) ; no remuneration other than regular fee must be charged (7) ; acts prohibited to the person engaged in the business (8-9) ; books and reports required (10-13) ; official inspection and sanctions (14-19) ; administrative details (20-22) ; exclusion of the business of placing the *geisha* and barmaids from the application of these Regulations (23) ; fee-charging (non-profit making) agencies (24) ; date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

- (8) *Notification concerning Reduction of Railway and Steamboat Fares, 1923*<sup>2</sup> (L.S., 1925, Jap. 1 V).

Notification of the Department of the Interior, No. 290 of 26 September 1923, enforced from 1 October 1923. In virtue of this Notification, warrants

<sup>1</sup> The number of the local boards and of the staff have been successively increased by the amendments to the Ordinance as promulgated by Imperial Ordinance No. 127 of 11 April 1925 (cf. L.S., 1925, Jap. 1 A) ; Imperial Ordinance No. 71 of 8 April 1927 ; Imperial Ordinance No. 100 of 28 May 1930, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Practically the same privilege has been granted to the seamen placed by the Seamen's Employment Exchanges, by the Notification of the Department of Communication, No. 1827 of 27 December 1923 (cf. L.S., 1923, Jap. 1, Appendix vi).

are issued by the employment exchanges whereby the workers who found employment through them may receive a 50 per cent. reduction on the railways or steamboats of the Japanese State Railways in going to the place of work (sections 1-10).

(9) *Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act, 1922* (L.S., 1922, Jap. 2).

Act No. 38 of 11 April 1922, enforced from 1 December 1922<sup>1</sup>. Scope of application of the Act (1); official permission for starting an exchange (2); the State or a body corporate, receiving the State subsidy, may engage in seamen's employment exchange (3); all fees and remuneration forbidden (4); management and co-ordination of the exchanges (5); Seamen's Employment Exchange Commission (6); supervision and control of the work (7); punitive rules (8); date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

(10) *Regulations for the Administration of the Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act, 1922.*

Ordinance of the Department of Communication, No. 65 of 1 November 1922, enforced from 1 December 1922. Definition of terms employed (1-2); powers of the Minister of Communication (3); permission of maritime authorities for starting a seamen's employment exchange (4); persons barred from the business of the exchange (5); suspension of the permission (6); official supervision and control (7-12); acts and trades prohibited to the person engaged in the work of employment exchanges (13-17); method and order of placing the seamen (20-21); books (22-23); fee-charging or profit-making exchanges (24-30); punitive rule (31); date of enforcement (additional rule).

(11) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act, 1930.*

Ordinance of the Department of Communication, No. 41 of 16 October 1930, enforced from 1 January 1930. With partial amendment of phrases in sections 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20 and 22, additions of new sections 8bis and quater and complete alteration of sections 21, 23 and 31, the amended Regulations have rendered the official control of the seamen's employment exchanges more complete than hitherto.

(12) *Regulations for the Control of the Recruitment of Workers, 1924.*

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 36 of 29 December 1924. Definition of terms (1); scope of application of the Regulations (2); report to and permission of the local governor required (3-4); recruitment certificate (5-8); report to the local police required (9, 14-15); recruiting agents' obligation to explain the conditions of employment (10); register of the applicants (11); acts prohibited to the recruiting agent (12); repatriation of the workers (16); inspection of the recruiting agent and suspension of the permission (17-18); punitive rules (20-24); date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

## VI. — LAWS REGULATING HEALTH INSURANCE

(1) *Health Insurance Act, 1922* (L.S., 1922, Jap. 3).

Act No. 70 of 22 April 1922, enforced from 1 July 1926, except the actual grant of benefits which commenced as from 1 January 1927<sup>2</sup>. Chapter I :

<sup>1</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 497 of 1 November 1922.

<sup>2</sup> This date was fixed by Act No. 34, Health Insurance Act Amendment Act of 27 March 1926 (cf. L.S., 1926, Jap. 4 B).

general principles (1-12). Chapter II: insured persons (13-21). Chapter III: insurance carriers (22-42). Chapter V: insurance benefits (43-69). Chapter V: defrayal of expenses (70-79). Chapter VI: application for enquiries, appeals and legal proceedings (80-86). Chapter VII: punitive rules (87-91), date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (2) *Ordinance for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 4 C).

Imperial Ordinance No. 243 of 30 June 1926, enforced from 1 July 1926. Chapter I: general principles (1-8). Chapter II: insured persons (9-10). Chapter III: health insurance societies: Part 1: establishment of societies (11-18); Part 2: society meetings (19-35); Part 3: officers of societies (36-43); Part 4: finance (44-55); Part 5: amalgamation, division and dissolution of societies (56-70); Part 7: supervision of societies (71-73). Chapter IV: insurance benefits (74-89). Chapter V: allocation of expenses (90-101). Chapter VI: application for enquiries and appeals: Part 1: organisation of the health insurance inquiry commissions (102-112); Part 2: procedure of the health insurance inquiry commissions (113-123); Part 3: miscellaneous provisions (124-125); date of enforcement and transitory rules (supplementary provisions).

- (3) *Regulations for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 4 D).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 36 of 1 July 1926, enforced from the date of promulgation for the most part (partly also from 1 October and 1 November 1926 and partly from 1 January 1927). Chapter I: general principles (1-9). Chapter II: insured persons (10-23). Chapter III: health insurance societies (24-44). Chapter IV: insurance benefits (45-71). Chapter V: procedure of the enquiry mentioned in section 80 of the Act (72-79). Chapter VI: penal provisions (80-81); dates of enforcement (supplementary rule).

- (4) *Act to Establish a Special Account for Health Insurance, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 4 A).

Act No. 26 of 27 March 1926, enforced from 1 January 1927. Creation of a special account (1); annual revenue (2); maximum account transferable from the General to the Special Account per annum (3); reserve fund (4); loans (5); surplus (6); deficits (7); annual estimate of revenue and expenditure (8); rules for the operation of the reserve fund, etc. (9); date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (5) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1927* (L.S., 1927, Jap 4 A).

Imperial Ordinance No. 30 of 11 March 1927, enforced from 11 March 1927. By adding a new paragraph to section 100, it stipulates the way to dispose of insurance contributions paid in excess of the correct amount.

- (6) *Further Amendment to the Ordinance for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1927* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 4 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 220 of 30 June 1927, enforced from 30 June 1927. By adding a new paragraph to section 106, the meaning of the "employer of insured persons" in case where the employer is the State or a municipal authority is made clear.

- (7) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1927* (L.S., 1927, Jap. 4 C).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 40 of 3 October 1927,

enforced from the date of promulgation. By addition of a new paragraph to, and also of a sub-paragraph *Vbis* to the first paragraph of, section 53, further details are fixed regarding the medical attendance of a doctor or a dentist.

- (8) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1928* (L.S., 1928, Jap. 3).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 12 of 7 April 1928, enforced from the date of promulgation. The amendments relate to: the doctor's prescription requested by an insured person (50); details of medical attendance (56*bis*); certificate of medical attendance (66*bis*); inspection of books or documents regarding medical attendance (66*ter*); date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (9) *Act to Amend the Health Insurance Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 2 B).

Act No. 20 of 27 March 1929, enforced from 1 June 1929<sup>1</sup>. Important amendments relate to: report concerning employment, discharge, remuneration, etc., of the employed person (8); case of failure to pay insurance contribution (11*bis*); preferential rights on the insurance money (11*ter*); minor amendments in sections 13, 16, 20, 27; limit on medical attendance or grant of pecuniary sick or accident benefit (47); increase of the funeral benefit (49); minor amendments in sections 61, 81-86, 92-93; dates of enforcement (additional rule).

- (10) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 2 D).

Imperial Ordinance No. 143 of 28 May 1929, enforced from 1 June 1929. Important amendments relate to: collection of contributions in arrears and charging of service fee (5*bis*); fines to be levied on the contributions paid as above (5*ter*); contributions collected in excess of the correct amount (100); payment of contributions before the normal date for payment (101*bis*); deletion of a section (124); date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (11) *Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 2 E).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 18 of 1 June 1929, enforced from 1 June 1929. Important amendments relate to: details for collecting the contributions in arrears (6*bis-quater*); shortening of the period during which the employer must keep the books regarding health insurance (8); appointment of a representative to perform duties in place of the employer (8*bis*); insurance card (15, 23, 23*bis*, 53); balance-sheet of the insurance society (36); additional statement as to whether or not the death was caused by performance of work in requesting the payment of the burial benefit (59-60); details regarding the application for confinement benefit (61); etc.

- (12) *Further Amendment to the Ordinance for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 2 F).

Imperial Ordinance No. 250 of 30 July 1929, enforced from 1 August 1929. Important amendments relate to: exclusion of prefectural officials engaged chiefly in the administration of health insurance from the insurance scheme (107); membership of the Health Insurance Enquiry

<sup>1</sup> This amending Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 142 of 28 May 1929 (cf. L.S., 1929, Jap. 2 C).

Commission of the First Instance (111) ; clerkship in the above Commission (112).

- (13) *Further Amendment to the Regulations for the Administration of the Health Insurance Act, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 2 G)

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 29 of 31 July 1929, enforced from 1 August 1929. Important amendments relate to : transfer of the authority of health insurance administration from the health insurance office to the local governor (1) ; choice between a prefectural governor and a health insurance society when an insured person is employed simultaneously in two or more undertakings placed under two or more insurance carriers (2) ; slight alterations in the text in accordance with the amendment of section 1 (3-23, 48, 49, 52, 73, etc.) ; insurance card to be returned to the authorities when the insured person ceased to be insured (23bis).

- (14) *Regulations for the Operation of the Health Insurance Reserve Fund, 1930.*

Imperial Ordinance No. 34 of 26 February 1930, enforced from 26 February 1930. Control of the reserve fund (1) ; deposit of the reserve fund in the State Treasury (2) ; keeping of the accounts of the reserve fund (3-4) ; date of enforcement (additional rules).

#### VII. — LAWS REGULATING WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *Ordinance for the Relief of State Workers, 1918* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 1 D).

Imperial Ordinance No. 382 of 21 November 1918, enforced from 1 January 1919. Scope of application (1) ; kinds and amounts of pecuniary benefits (2-3) ; frequency of payment of medical benefits and absence allowance (4) ; cases of recurrence of sickness or injury (5) ; survivors' allowance (6) ; pecuniary benefit withheld against recurrence of sickness or injury after the dismissal of the worker (7) ; pecuniary benefits withheld with the lapse of a year's period after dismissal (8) ; exceptions (9-10) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (2) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Relief of State Workers, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 1 D).

Imperial Ordinance No. 239 of 30 June 1926, enforced from 1 July 1926. Important amendments relate to : deletion of the provision that the relief is withheld if the accident resulted from a serious fault on the part of the worker (1) ; extension of the scope of the survivors' allowance (2, v-vi) ; absence allowance withheld if the injury or sickness was due to the worker's own serious fault (2, vii) ; immediate payment of disablement and survivors' allowances (4) ; law brought in harmony with the Health Insurance Act (6) ; dates of enforcement (additional rules).

- (3) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Relief of State Workers, 1928* (L.S., 1928, Jap. 4).

Imperial Ordinance No. 128 of 27 June 1928, enforced from the date of promulgation. By an amendment in section 10, the State workers on the active list and members of mutual-aid societies receiving State subvention are excluded from disablement and survivors' allowances.

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<sup>1</sup> In respect of the workers employed in privately owned factories or mines, workmen's compensation is dealt with in the Factory Act and Ordinances (see II, 1-5, above) and the Regulations for the Employment and Relief of Mines (III, 2-7, above).



- (4) *Amendment to the Ordinance for the Relief of State Workers, 1929* (L.S., 1929, Jap. 6).

Imperial Ordinance No. 237 of 1 July 1929, enforced from the date of promulgation. By amending the appended schedule, the amount of funeral allowance has been raised.

- (5) *Act concerning Relief to Workers in case of Accident, 1931* (L.S., 1931, Jap. 1 A).

Act No. 54 of 1 April 1931, enforced from 1 January 1932. Scope of application (1) ; employers' liability (2) ; " employer " defined (3-4) ; orders of the administrative authority to the employer or workers regarding accident prevention or hygiene (5) ; official inspection (6) ; punitive rules (7-11) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (6) *Ordinance for the Administration of the Act concerning Relief to Workers in case of Accident, 1931* (L.S., 1931, Jap. 2 A).

Imperial Ordinance No. 276 of 27 November 1931, enforced from 1 January 1932. "Public organisations" of section 1, paragraph 1, ii, defined (1) ; scale of the works to which the Act applies (2) ; employer's liability in case of sickness or injury (3-4) ; absence allowance (5) ; compensation for injuries (6) ; employer immune from liability in case the accident is due to a serious fault on the part of the worker (7) ; survivors' allowance (8) ; funeral benefit (9) ; time of payment of the benefits (10) ; aid terminating (final) allowance (11) ; repatriation of the worker (12) ; subtraction from the compensation of the amount received by the worker from a mutual-aid society or from the State as employer (13-14) ; calculation of "basic wages" (15-16) ; other details (17-20) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (7) *Regulations for the Administration of the Act concerning Relief to Workers in case of Accident, 1931.*

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 32 of 28 November 1931, enforced from 1 January 1932. Employer's "representative" in charge of relief (1) ; first aid equipment required at the workplace (2) ; employer's name and address and the rules of relief to be posted up (3) ; records on relief to be kept (4) ; report to the governor in case of sickness, injury or death (5-6) ; report on the number of workers engaged (7) ; "employer" defined (8) ; question of jurisdiction in case the work extends over two prefectures (9) ; punitive rules (10-13) ; other details (14) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (8) *Act concerning the Insurance against Liability to Grant Relief to Workers in case of Accident, 1931* (L.S., 1931, Jap. 1 B).

Act No. 55 of 1 April 1931, enforced from 1 January 1932. General principle (1) ; scope of application (2) ; cases where the employer should contract the insurance with the Government (3) ; persons entitled to receive the insurance money (4) ; cases where the insurance money may be withheld in part or whole (5-7) ; lapsing of the obligation to pay the insurance money in contribution (8) ; civil procedure against the Government regarding the insurance (9) ; commission of enquiry concerning this insurance (10) ; stamp tax not charged on documents regarding this insurance (11) ; inspection of the workplace (12) ; punitive rules (13-14) ; date of enforcement and exceptions (additional rules).

- (9) *Act to Establish a Special Account for the Insurance against Liability to Grant Relief to Workers in case of Accident, 1931.*

Act No. 56 of 1 April 1931, enforced from 1 September 1931. Creation

of a special account (1) ; revenue and expenditure of the special account (2) ; surplus and deficit (3) ; loans of the special account (4, 6) ; deposits (5) ; reserve fund and its operation (7) ; annual budget (8-9) ; rules regarding revenue and expenditure (10) ; date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

- (10) *Ordinance for the Administration of the Act concerning the Insurance against Liability to Grant Relief to Workers in case of Accident*, 1931 (L.S., 1931, Jap. 2 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 277 of 27 November 1931, enforced from 1 January 1932. Scope of and time limit for application (1) ; insurable benefits and their extent (2-3) ; aid-terminating (final) allowance (4) ; insurance period (5) ; insurance contribution (6, 9) ; payment of the insurance contribution (7) ; calculation of the "basic wage" (8) ; insurance contribution paid in excess of the correct amount of (10-11) ; payment by the State of the insurance money directly to the beneficiary of the insurance (12) ; withholding of the insurance money in certain cases (13-16) ; administrative authority to deal with the insurance (17) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (11) *Regulations for the Administration of the Act concerning the Insurance against Liability to Grant Relief to Workers in case of Accident*, 1931.

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 33 of 28 November 1931, enforced from 1 January 1932. Application for the insurance to be submitted to the Chief of the Bureau of Social Affairs (1) ; insurance policy (2) ; report to the authority if a sub-contractor is the person entitled to receive the insurance money (3) ; certificate for the person entitled to the insurance money (4) ; changes in the items mentioned in the certificates (5) ; loss of certificates (6) ; reports on the number of workers employed, on the completion of the work, etc. (7-8) ; details for the application of the provisions of sections 3-4 of Imperial Ordinance No. 277 of 1931 (9-13) ; procedure for receiving the insurance money (14-17) ; books and documents relating to the insurance (18-19) ; discretionary powers for the local governor (20) ; punitive rules (21-24) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (12) *Ordinance for the Relief of Workers Supplied by Contract*, 1932.

Imperial Ordinance No. 2 of 7 January 1932, enforced from 7 January 1932. Under this Ordinance, consisting of only two paragraphs and an additional rule fixing the date of application, the main relief provisions of the Ordinance for the Administration of the Act concerning Relief to Workers in case of Accidents are made applicable to the workers supplied to, and employed by, the Government under a contract to supply labour.

#### VIII. — LAWS REGULATING CONCILIATION OF LABOUR DISPUTES

- (1) *Labour Disputes Conciliation Act*, 1926 (L.S., Jap. 3 A).

Act No. 57 of 8 April 1926, enforced from 1 July 1926<sup>1</sup>. Scope of application (1) ; order to set up a conciliation board (2) ; composition and procedure of the board (3-8) ; period for conciliation procedure (9) ; quorum, secrecy and other rules governing the board meetings (10-12) ; powers of the board (13-15) ; findings of the board (16-17) ; allowances

<sup>1</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 197 of 23 June (cf. L.S., 1926, Jap. 3 C).

for the board members (18) ; restrictions on the conduct of the parties to the dispute during the conciliation period (19) ; punitive rules (20-22) date of enforcement (additional rule).

(2) *Ordinance for the Administration of the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act, 1926* (L.S., 1926, Jap. 3 B).

Imperial Ordinance No. 196 of 23 June 1926, enforced from 1 July 1926. The local governor as the administrative authority for the Act (1) ; exceptions to section 1 (2-3) ; setting up of a conciliation board (4-6) ; report on completion or prolongation of the conciliation procedure (7) ; all documents of conciliation procedure to be submitted to the administrative authority (8) ; allowances for members of the board (9) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

(3) *Tenancy Disputes Conciliation Act, 1924.*

Act No. 18 of 22 July 1924, enforced from 1 December 1924<sup>1</sup>. Application for conciliation at the local court of justice (1-2) ; procedure for the application (3-7) ; jurisdiction of the court (8) ; suspension of legal action during the conciliation period (9) ; conciliation board (10) ; possibility for public mediation (11) ; deputies for carrying on the conciliation procedure (12-14) ; persons interested in the dispute may participate in the conciliation (15) ; persons required, or allowed, to be personally present at the conciliation (16) ; mayor of the city, town or village where the dispute has arisen (17-18) ; tenancy conciliation officers (19-20) ; secrecy of the board meeting (21) ; expenses of the conciliation procedure and other details (22-26) ; legal value of the conciliation (27) ; composition, rules of procedure and the findings of a conciliation board (28-44) ; allowance paid to the members of the board and to the mediators (45-46) ; punitive rules (48-49) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

IX. — MISCELLANEOUS LAWS (CO-OPERATION,  
MIGRATION, LABOUR STATISTICS, ETC.)

(1) *Co-operative Societies Act, 1900*<sup>2</sup>.

Act No. 34 of 6 March 1900 enforced from 1 September 1900. Chapter I : general principles (1-6). Chapter II : establishment of a co-operative society (7-16). Chapter III : rights and obligations of members (17-24). Chapter IV : management (25-48). Chapter V : admission to and withdrawal from a co-operative society (49-58). Chapter VI : official control (59-61). Chapter VII : dissolution of a co-operative society (62-69). Chapter VIII : liquidation (70-75). Chapter IX : punitive rules (76-77) , date of enforcement and additional administrative details (78-90).

(2) *Emigrant Protection Act, 1896*<sup>3</sup>.

Act No. 70 of 8 April 1896, enforced from 1 June 1896. Chapter I : emigrant (1-4) ; the " emigrant " defined (1) ; permission to emigrate (2) ; sureties required (3) ; suspension or cancellation of the permission to emigrate (4). Chapter II : emigration agent (5-15) ; the " agent " defined (5) ; permission to become an emigration agent (6-7) ; suspension or cancellation of the permission (8) ; restrictions imposed on the agent (9-15). Chapter III : bail or caution money (16-20) ; bail for receiving permission to become an emigration agent (16-17) ; the bail used for the

<sup>1</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 228 of 26 September 1924.

<sup>2</sup> This Act has been amended successively almost every two years since its first promulgation.

<sup>3</sup> This Act has also been amended frequently, by Act No. 23 of 1901, Act No. 4 of 1902, Act No. 33 of 1907, etc.

repatriation of emigrants (18); withholding of a part or whole of the bail by the authorities (19-20). Chapter IV: emigrant transport ship (20, i-vii). Chapter V: miscellaneous rules, regarding the control of loaning of money, accommodation or lodging, etc., to the emigrants (20, viii-xi). Chapter VI: punitive rules (21-27); date of enforcement and transitory rules (additional rules).

(3) *Emigration Societies Act, 1927* (L.S., 1927, Jap. 1 A).

Act No. 25 of 29 March 1927, enforced from 1 May 1927<sup>1</sup>. Object of an emigration society (1); work of the society (2-3); only one society for each "district" allowed (4); emigration of members and officers (5-6); federation of emigration societies (7-13); provisions in harmony with the Co-operative Societies Act (14); date of enforcement (additional rule).

(4) *Regulations for the Administration of the Emigration Societies Act, 1927* (L.S., 1927, Jap. 1 C).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 36 of 30 April 1927, enforced from 1 May 1927. The "district" of an emigration society defined (1); application for permission to establish a society (2); shares in a society (3-6); delegates' meeting (7); officers of society (8); financial year (9); registration (10-12); reports of the society (13-14); loans (15); budget and balance sheet (16-18); changes in the rules of officers, etc., of a society (19-23); detailed rules regarding dissolution, liquidation, etc. (24-29); date of enforcement (additional rule).

(5) *Act concerning Labour Statistics, 1922* (L.S., 1922, Jap. 1)<sup>2</sup>.

Act No. 52 of 19 April 1922, enforced from 23 May 1923. General principle (1); data collected should be used only for statistical purpose (2); secrecy (3); punitive rules (3-5).

(6) *Ordinance concerning Labour Statistics, 1923*<sup>3</sup>.

Imperial Ordinance No. 266 of 23 May 1923, enforced from 23 May 1923. Frequency and the first collection of labour statistics (1); definition of terms employed (2); scope of investigation (3-6); employers' obligations to assist in the investigation (7-8); administrative authorities and officials in charge of the collection of labour statistics (9-20).

(7) *Ordinance concerning the Unemployment Census, 1925*<sup>4</sup> (L.S., 1925, Jap. 2 A).

Imperial Ordinance No. 202 of 22 May 1925, enforced from the date of promulgation. Date of the census (1); districts chosen (2); items of investigation (3-8); administrative authority and officials for census-taking (9-16); details for the collection of data (17-23).

(8) *Ordinance concerning the Marking of the Weight on Heavy Packages, 1930* (L.S., 1930, Jap. 1).

Ordinance of the Department of the Interior, No. 16 of 6 May 1930, enforced from 1 July 1930. General rule and exceptions (1); contraven-

<sup>1</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 100 of 28 April 1927 (cf. L.S., 1927, Jap. 1 B).

<sup>2</sup> This Act has been amended by Act No. 1 of 1929.

<sup>3</sup> This Ordinance has been amended by Imperial Ordinances No. 419 of 1923, No. 111 of 1927, etc.

<sup>4</sup> A similar Ordinance has been issued every third year since the promulgation of this one. (cf. L.S., 1927, Jap. 1 B).

tion is liable to a fine (2) ; extent of the consignor's liability (3-4) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

- (9) *Act concerning the Guarantee of Employment for Men entering Military Service, 1931 (L.S., 1931, Jap. 3).*

Act No. 57 of 1 April 1931, enforced from 1 November 1931<sup>1</sup>. No discrimination allowed against persons entering military service regarding their employment (1) ; obligatory re-employment of men in military service (2-5) ; public mediation by competent officials (6) ; persons employed by the State or municipal bodies (7) ; date of enforcement (additional rule).

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<sup>1</sup> This Act was put into operation by Imperial Ordinance No. 260 of 30 October 1931.

## APPENDIX II

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Official publications:
  - (a) Periodical or other publications of the Japanese Government;
  - (b) Periodical or other publications of the International Labour Office.
- II. Private publications:
  - (a) Books and pamphlets; important magazine articles cited in the present report;
  - (b) Periodicals (yearly, quarterly, monthly and other periodical publications).

#### Note

Publications in English are marked (E.); those in French (F.); English and Japanese (E. J.); French and Japanese (F. J.), etc. Unless stated otherwise, they are only in the Japanese language and published in Tokyo.

Periodicals published every ten days are marked *r*; weeklies *w*; monthlies *m*; quarterlies *q* and annual reports or year-books *y*. If published twice per year, they are marked  $\frac{1}{2}$  *y*.

#### I. — OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

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